Printed for the use of the Foreign Office. May 1886.

CONFIDENTIAL.

(5261.)

F.O.

407

PART I.

CORRESPONDENCE

RESPECTING

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF'S MISSION.

76

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TABLE OF CONTENTS.

No.	Name.	No.	Date.	Subject.	Page
1	Assim Pasha to Musurus Pasha	Telegraphic	July 31, 1885	Sir H. D. Wolff. Will receive with pleasure..	1
2	To Sir H. D. Wolff ..	1	Aug. 7,	Appointment and instructions	1
3	To Sir J. Walsham ..	696	7,	Wolff Mission. Conversation with M. Waddington as to object	3
4	Sir H. D. Wolff ..	3 Secret	11,	Organization of Government in Soudan. King of the Belgians proposes that he shall be charged with	4
5	" " ..	Private and Conf. Telegraphic	12,	Kind messages received from Count Károlyi. Friendly expressions of M. Kállay and Count Szechenyi	4
6	" " ..	Private and Secret Telegraphic	14,	Administration of Egypt and Capitulations. Conversation with M. de Kállay, Count Szechenyi, and M. Pasetti	4
7	Sir W. White ..	356	14,	Sir H. D. Wolff. Pleasure of Sultan at selection for Mission	5
8	To Sir H. D. Wolff ..	Telegraphic	16,	Turkish contingent at Suakin and on Nile. Reasons for wishing	5
9	Sir H. D. Wolff ..	Private Telegraphic	16,	Turkish troops for Egypt. Suggestions as to manner in which proposal should be made ..	6
10	" " ..	1 Confidential	13,	Interview with General Neriman Khan. Suggests restoration of Ismail Pasha. Reply made to him	6
11	To Sir E. Malet and Sir A. Paget	Confidential Telegraphic	18,	Cannot fix date of evacuation. Intended proposal as to Turkish contingent. Inform Governments..	7
12	Sir E. Malet ..	58 Telegraphic	19,	Turkish contingent for Egypt. Count Hatzfeldt's opinion respecting	7
13	" " ..	362	19,	Extends above	7
14	Sir H. D. Wolff ..	Private Telegraphic	19,	Turkish contingent for Egypt. Objection to phrase "full consent of Powers".. ..	8
15	" " ..	Private Telegraphic	19,	Austria and Germany should be told understanding with Sultan indispensable to remove Mussulman jealousies in Egypt. What attitude towards Count Corti? As to withdrawal of troops on arrival of Turks? ..	8
16	" " ..	7 Telegraphic	20,	Reoccupation of Dongola. Is it authorized? Are there funds to subsidize Chiefs? ..	8
17	Sir A. Paget ..	15 Confidential Telegraphic	20,	Turkish contingent for Egypt. Reply of Count Kálnoky (see No. 11)	8
18	" " ..	218 Confidential	20,	Extends above	9
19	Sir H. D. Wolff ..	7 Telegraphic	20,	Duplicate of No. 16	10
20	To Sir H. D. Wolff ..	Secret Telegraphic	21,	Dardanelles and war with Russia. Lead Sultan to talk of it. May look there for price of Egyptian policy	10
21	" " ..	Private Telegraphic	21,	Turkish contingent. Consent of France, not Europe, necessary (see No. 14). Cannot walk over her. Italy in disgrace at the Porte. Nothing heard of French designs on Tripoli	10
22	Sir H. D. Wolff ..	8 Confidential Telegraphic	21,	Turkish Commissioner should accompany him to Wady Halfa to negotiate with Soudanese, if Sultan objects to sending troops ..	10
23	" " ..	4 Confidential	21,	Extends above	11
24	Mr. Egerton ..	409 Telegraphic	22,	Reoccupation of Dongola. No question of (see No. 16)	11
25	To Sir H. D. Wolff ..	3 Telegraphic	22,	Turkish Commissioner. Quite reasonable he should accompany you to Wady Halfa (see No. 22)	11
26	" " ..	9	22,	Extends above	11
27	Sir H. D. Wolff ..	9 Telegraphic	22,	Interview with Grand Vizier and Edhem. Credentials left	12
28	" " ..	5	22,	Extends above	12
29	Mr. Egerton ..	618	23,	Havas telegrams intended to create suspicion in mind of Porte. Nubar Pasha will withdraw subvention	12

No.	Name.	No.	Date.	Subject.	Page
30	Sir H. D. Wolff ..	10 Telegraphic	Aug. 23, 1885	Turkish Commissioner for reorganization of Egypt. If agreed to, Sultan might not insist on troops in Egypt proper	13
31	" " ..	6	22,	Extends above	13
32	Mr. Egerton ..	414 Telegraphic	23,	Havas agency. Subvention withdrawn for dissemination of false news	14
33	To Sir J. Walsham ..	50 Telegraphic	24,	False news published by Havas Agency. Message to M. de Ring respecting ..	14
34	" " ..	716	24,	Extends above	14
35	To Sir H. D. Wolff ..	4 Telegraphic	24,	Turkish Commissioner. Leaves question to his discretion (see No. 30)	15
36	" " ..	8	24,	Extends above	15
37	" " ..	5 Telegraphic	24,	Subsidies for Arab Chiefs. Exact amount available depends on Suakin expenditure (see No. 16)	15
38	" " ..	10	24,	Extends above	15
39	Sir H. D. Wolff ..	12 Confidential Telegraphic	24,	Visit from Assim. Mutual assurances of desire to arrive at an understanding ..	16
40	" " ..	7 Confidential	24,	Extends above	16
41	" " ..	13 Telegraphic	24,	To have audience Wednesday or Thursday. Pleasure expressed in Council at subject of Mission	17
42	" " ..	14 Confidential Telegraphic	25,	Visit from Fakhri Pasha. Advises some proof being given to show occupation is not to be eternal	17
43	" " ..	8	25,	Extends above	18
44	" " ..	2	16,	Passage through Vienna. Account of interviews with M. de Kállay and other officials. M. de Lesseps' language respecting England.	18
45	Sir A. Paget ..	222 Most Conf.	21,	Negotiations with Porte. Baron Calice will be instructed to assist Sir H. D. Wolff ..	20
46	Sir J. Walsham ..	550 Confidential	24,	Havas Agency and employment of Turkish troops in Egypt. Conversation with M. de Ring	20
47	Sir H. D. Wolff ..	15 Telegraphic	25,	Visits from Grand Vizier and Edhem. Language of Austrian, Russian, and French Ambassadors	21
48	" " ..	9	25,	Extends above	22
49	" " ..	16 Telegraphic	25,	Rumoured withdrawal of troops from Egypt. Should they not be reinforced to prevent invasion?	22
50	Sir W. White ..	113 Telegraphic	26,	Negotiation at Constantinople. Will not be impeded by Central Empires	22
51	Sir H. D. Wolff ..	17 Telegraphic	26,	Interview with Russian Ambassador. Mission explained. Promises of assistance ..	23
52	" " ..	10	26,	Extends above	23
53	To Sir H. D. Wolff ..	7 Telegraphic	28,	Withdrawal of troops from Egypt. Explanation (see No. 49)	24
54	" " ..	11	28,	Extends above	24
55	Sir H. D. Wolff ..	Private and Secret Telegraphic	28,	Fixed term for evacuation. If Sultan insists he might be met by diminution of troops to fixed number. Present withdrawal would prevent this	24
56	To Sir H. D. Wolff ..	8 Telegraphic	28,	Employment of Turkish troops in Egypt. French only opposed if they are completely formed battalions	24
57	Sir H. D. Wolff ..	Private Telegraphic	28,	Withdrawal of troops from Egypt. Should be delayed. Count Hatzfeldt's advice to Porte to let negotiations drag on	25
58	Sir J. Walsham ..	557	27,	Havas Agency's erroneous information. Note from M. de Freycinet	25
59	Sir E. Malet ..	61 Confidential Telegraphic	29,	Turkish troops for Egypt. Important point in Prince Bismarck's opinion to get them there (see No. 11)	26
60	" " ..	280 Confidential	29,	Extends above	26
61	Sir H. D. Wolff ..	18 Telegraphic	29,	Audience with Sultan and interview with Mr. Foster, who will make suggestions ..	26
62	" " ..	19? Telegraphic	30,	Audience with Sultan. Confined himself to generalities. Delegates will be named to-morrow	27
63	To Sir H. D. Wolff ..	9 Telegraphic	31'	Withdrawal of troops from Egypt. Orders cannot be recalled. Nothing will be done as to further reduction without orders (see No. 49)	27

No.	Name.	No.	Date.	Subject.	Page
64	To Sir H. D. Wolff ..	12	Aug. 31, 1885	Extends No. 63..	27
65	" " ..	10 Telegraphic	31,	Turkish troops for Egypt. Need not shut the door to negotiations for withdrawal. Difficulties great (see No. 59)	27
66	" " ..	13	31,	Extends above	28
67	Sir H. D. Wolff ..	20 Telegraphic	31,	Withdrawal of troops from Egypt. Not a military, but political question (see No. 63)..	28
68	" " ..	21 Telegraphic	Sept. 1,	Turkish troops for Egypt. Could portion of money for Army of Occupation be paid to Turks? Sign of approval from Germans would be invaluable	28
69	" " ..	22 Telegraphic	1,	Approval of mission by Germany and Austria. Grand Vizier believes in	29
70	" " ..	17 Confidential	1,	Extends above	29
71	" " ..	11	Aug. 23,	Pan-Islamic Societies. Their opinions and objects. Reasons why Turkish Commissioner should accompany him to Egypt ..	29
72	" " ..	Telegraphic	Sept. 2,	Turkish troops for Egypt. Sultan fears collision with Arab party	30
73	" " ..	18 Confidential	2,	Extends above	30
74	Sir H. D. Wolff ..	Telegraphic	2,	Plenipotentiaries to discuss Egyptian question. Kiamil and Assim appointed	31
75	" " ..	19	2,	Extends above	31
76	" " ..	25 Telegraphic	2,	Formal meetings will be held. Protocolist appointed	31
77	" " ..	20	2,	Extends above	31
77A	" " ..	28 Telegraphic	4,	Austrian Ambassador has spoken to Grand Vizier possibly with effect	31*
77B	" " ..	29 Telegraphic	4,	On what ground do the French Government now object to dispatch of Turkish troops to Egypt?	31*
78	To Sir H. D. Wolff ..	11 Telegraphic	5,	Military Convention. May be necessary for main points. Right to Protocol proceedings (see No. 76)..	31
79	Sir H. D. Wolff ..	30 Telegraphic	5,	Meeting with Plenipotentiaries. Satisfactory..	32
80	" " ..	31 Telegraphic	6,	Account of first meeting. Question of evacuation and reorganization of army under Turkish officers	32
81	" " ..	32 Telegraphic	6,	Sultan anxious that negotiations should be pressed on. Intrigue active. Halim French	32
82	To Sir H. D. Wolff ..	13 Telegraphic	6,	Turkish troops for Egypt. Not safe for us to withdraw from Suakin yet	32
83	" " ..	14	6,	Extends above	33
84	" " ..	14 Telegraphic	6,	Turkish troops for Egypt. France very much opposed to idea in 1882.	33
85	" " ..	15	6,	Extends above	33
86	Sir H. D. Wolff ..	33 Telegraphic	6,	Feeling of Sultan. Information from German Chargé d'Affaires	34
87	To Sir H. D. Wolff ..	15 Telegraphic	8,	Evacuation of Suakin. Not practicable till reported safe. Early possibility of reduction of force	34
88	" " ..	16	8,	Extends above	34
89	Sir H. D. Wolff ..	13	Aug. 29,	Audience of Sultan. Satisfactory reception ..	34
90	" " ..	14	30,	Turkish troops for Egypt. Mr. Foster states Sultan not personally unfavourable, but must consider it further	35
91	" " ..	15	30,	Private audience with the Sultan. He will send communication through Mr. Foster ..	35
92	" " ..	16 Confidential	Sept. 1,	Turkish troops for Egypt. Danger of reduction of British troops at present. They should be in large preponderance.. ..	36
93	" " ..	Separate and Conf.	3,	Summary of conversation with Sultan. Memorandum given to Assim and Munir Pashas .	37
94	" " ..	21	4,	Meeting with Grand Vizier. Arrangement should be limited to pacification of the Soudan and appointment of Turkish Commissioner	38
95	" " ..	23	5,	Visit from Prince Halim. Views on Egypt ..	39
96	To Sir E. Malet ..	75 Telegraphic	9,	Wolff Mission. Obtain instructions to German Chargé d'Affaires favourable to	40
97	Sir H. D. Wolff ..	34 Confidential Telegraphic	9,	Evacuation of Suakin. Need not be discussed. Troops if withdrawn should not leave Egypt (see No. 87)..	40
98	To Sir H. D. Wolff ..	17 Telegraphic	9,	Instructions to German Chargé d'Affaires in favour of Mission. Have endeavoured to obtain (see No. 96)	40

No.	Name.	No.	Date.	Subject.	Page
99	Sir E. Malet ..	66 Telegraphic	Sept. 10, 1885	Wolff Mission. German Government anxious to support if particular points are specified ..	40
100	Sir H. D. Wolff ..	Telegraphic	10,	Sultan has said he hopes settlement will be arrived at soon	41
101	To Sir H. D. Wolff ..	17 Telegraphic	12,	Co-operation of Sultan. Will it be sufficient if German Chargé d'Affaires expresses approval of Her Majesty's Government seeking?	41
102	" " ..	19	12,	Extends above	41
103	Sir H. D. Wolff ..	35 Telegraphic	12.	Suggested communication by German Chargé d'Affaires. Would be enough if made at once (see above)	41
104	Mr. Egerton ..	435 Most Conf. Telegraphic	12,	Attitude of Khedive to his Ministers. Unfavourably influenced by communications from Constantinople. Telegram sent to Sir H. Wolff..	42
105	Sir H. D. Wolff ..	36 Most Conf. Telegraphic	13.	Attitude of Khedive to his Ministers. Shall anything be said to Sultan?	42
106	Sir E. Malet ..	399	10.	Extends No. 99	42
107	" " ..	404 Very Conf.	10,	German support for Mission. Conversation with Count H. Bismarck	42
108	Sir H. D. Wolff ..	37 Confidential Telegraphic	14	Turkish Delegates anxious to know proposals. Proposal made to them respecting evacuation question	44
109	To Sir H. D. Wolff ..	18 Telegraphic	14,	Nubar Pasha. Make Grand Vizier understand that we cannot abandon	44
110	To Sir E. Malet ..	79 Telegraphic	15.	Support to Mission. Would be obliged if German Government would send suggested instructions (see No. 99) ..	44
111	Sir H. D. Wolff ..	38 Telegraphic	15.	Nubar Pasha. Crisis past. Will leave question alone unless otherwise instructed ..	44
112	" " ..	39 Confidential Telegraphic	16.	Sheikhs not opposed to an arrangement. Note to be brought before Council to-day ..	45
113	" " ..	40 Telegraphic	17,	Council on Egyptian affairs sat till 3 in the morning	45
114	" " ..	41 Confidential Telegraphic	17.	Result of Council. Attitude of Powers ..	45
115	" " ..	24 Confidential	8,	Meeting with Kiamil. Abandonment of Protocols. Kiamil wishes full powers sent at once	45
116	" " ..	25	9.	Massowah. Italian Ambassador informed Sir H. Wolff has no instructions to discuss question	46
117	" " ..	26 Confidential	9.	Interview with French Ambassador. His views respecting the Egyptian question and the Suez Canal	46
118	" " ..	27	15,	Protocol of first meeting	47
119	" " ..	28	15,	Articles from press respecting Mission. Précis of	49
120	" " ..	29 Most Conf.	15,	Draft Protocol of first meeting presented by Turkish Plenipotentiaries. Protest against it. Counter-Protocol refused. Mr. Marinich's Report on communications with Porte ..	49
121	To Sir H. D. Wolff ..	22	22,	Approves language to French Ambassador (see No. 117)	55
122	" " ..	23	22,	Progress of negotiations. Approves communications to Kiamil and Assym (see No. 120)	55
123	To Mr. Egerton ..	303	22,	Sir H. D. Wolff appointed on special mission. Will conduct affairs of Agency during his stay in Egypt..	55
124	To Sir H. D. Wolff ..	24	23.	Massowah. Approves language to Italian Ambassador (see No. 116)	56
125	Sir H. D. Wolff ..	30 Confidential	17.	Communications with Turkish Plenipotentiaries. Further Report from Mr. Marinich ..	56
126	" " ..	31 Confidential	18,	Irritation of Sultan at refusal to forward proposal for fixed term of evacuation and hint that "Iris" is ready. Explanation sent through Mr. Foster	57
127	" " ..	32	22,	Sheikhs of the Palace. Account of ..	58
128	" " ..	33 Confidential	22,	Resumption of negotiations. Message sent to Assym Pasha respecting	59
129	" " ..	34 Confidential	22,	Evacuation of Egypt. Assym Pasha's suggestion to Austrian Ambassador	60

No.	Name.	No.	Date.	Subject.	Page
130	Sir H. D. Wolff ..	44 Telegraphic	Sept. 26, 1885	Grand Vizier will lay matter of negotiations before Council. Iradé will not be delayed when Grand Vizier has sent in Report ..	60
131	" " ..	45 Confidential Telegraphic	27,	Change of Ministry. Aarifi will be one of the Delegates. Grand Vizier wishes "international engagements of Khedive" explained, and to limit power to recruit in Turkey ..	60
132	To Sir H. D. Wolff ..	20 Telegraphic	28,	International engagements of Khedive, and recruiting in Turkey. Answers above ..	61
133	Sir H. D. Wolff ..	46 Confidential Telegraphic	28,	Aarifi and Server to be Plenipotentiaries. Grand Vizier wishes arrangement recorded in a Convention	61
134	To Sir H. D. Wolff ..	21 Telegraphic	30,	Proposed Convention. Send text. Suggests alteration	61
135	Sir H. D. Wolff ..	47 Telegraphic	30,	Iradé will be issued at once. Suggested addition to Convention as to evacuation ..	61
136	To Sir H. D. Wolff ..	Telegraphic	Oct. 1,	Evacuation. Cannot give authority required without leave from Cabinet (see above) ..	62
137	Sir H. D. Wolff ..	48 Telegraphic	1,	Negotiations with Soudanese. Recruiting. Evacuation discussed. Grand Vizier will draw up draft Convention	62
138	To Sir H. D. Wolff ..	23 Telegraphic	2,	No objection to Turkish proposal as to negotiations with Soudanese, if nothing settled without assent of British Commissioner ..	62
139	Sir H. D. Wolff ..	49 Telegraphic	2,	Proposal as to evacuation to be considered withdrawn. Assurance will not be necessary (see No. 136)	62
140	" " ..	38	Sept. 28,	Interview with Kiamil and Aarifi. International engagements of the Khedive and recruitment. Details respecting latter might be left till later ..	63
141	" " ..	39 Confidential	29,	Iradé to be signed last night or to-day. Server Pasha probably Second Commissioner. Grand Vizier insists on Convention	64
142	" " ..	40 Confidential	29,	Russian sympathies of Server Pasha. Would like Moukhtar Pasha appointed Commissioner	64
143	" " ..	91 Telegraphic	Oct. 3,	Meeting to be held Monday. Draft Convention will be ready	65
144	" " ..	52 Telegraphic	4,	German Ambassador will speak in favour of mission to Sultan and Grand Vizier on first opportunity	65
145	" " ..	53 Confidential Telegraphic	5,	Rough draft of Convention discussed with Aarifi	65
146	To Sir H. D. Wolff ..	24 Telegraphic	6,	Convention will be considered by Cabinet on Friday. Proposal for alliance vague ..	66
147	Sir H. D. Wolff ..	54 Confidential Telegraphic	6,	Draft Convention. Provision added giving Khedive right to name Commissioner. Report goes to Sultan to-night	66
148	" " ..	55 Telegraphic	6,	Convention. Anxious for immediate instructions. Question of alliance quite separate ..	66
149	" " ..	56 Telegraphic	7,	Convention. Hope there will be no delay. Austrian and German Ambassadors have joined in urging Porte to hasten	66
150	" " ..	57 Confidential Telegraphic	8,	Sultan's fears respecting recruitment. Suggests fixing maximum. Summary of Convention as divided into Articles	66
151	To Sir H. D. Wolff ..	25 Telegraphic	8,	Indifferent as to title of Commissioner. Cabinet to consider Convention to-morrow ..	67
152	Sir H. D. Wolff ..	58 Telegraphic	9,	Recruitment. Mr. Egerton cannot fix figure. Decision might be postponed and voice left to Sultan in the matter	67
153	To Sir H. D. Wolff ..	26 Telegraphic	9,	Draft Convention. Approved by Cabinet, with amendments for Articles III and V ..	67
154	" " ..	32	9,	Extends above	68
155	" " ..	27 Telegraphic	9,	Recruiting. You might engage by Protocol that it should not be excessive, and promise agreement as to number after arrival .	68
156	" " ..	33	9,	Extends above	68
157	Sir H. D. Wolff ..	59 Confidential Telegraphic	9,	Good wishes of French Ambassador, and reply	68

No.	Name.	No.	Date.	Subject.	Page
158	Sir H. D. Wolff ..	41 Confidential	Oct. 2, 1885	Interview with Grand Vizier. Negotiations with Soudanese to be conducted by Khedive and Turkish Commissioner. Same course cannot be pursued respecting reorganization. Sultan will grant facilities for recruitment ..	69
159	" " ..	42 Most Conf.	3,	Views of Khairreddin Pasha on situation .	70
160	" " ..	43 Confidential	4,	Draft Convention will be ready for consideration at meeting to-morrow. Steps taken to hasten Grand Vizier	71
161	" " ..	44 Secret	5,	Egyptian negotiations. Note from M. Néidoff to Porte, and Circular to Turkish Representatives	73
162	" " ..	45 Most Conf.	5,	Leave obtained from Sultan to begin negotiations. Discussion as to negotiations with Soudanese and withdrawal of troops. Reference to Slave Trade to be omitted ..	74
163	" " ..	46 Confidential	5,	Recruitment in Turkey. Stipulation left vague. Wisdom of step	75
164	" " ..	60 Telegraphic	10,	Alteration made by Cabinet in Article III. Suggestions with a view to shortening negotiations (see No. 153)	76
165	" " ..	61 Telegraphic	10,	Alterations in draft Convention. Any objection?	76
166	" " ..	62 Telegraphic	10,	Cabinet alterations in Convention. Manner of insertion. Suggestion by Porte as to Protocol of enlistment	76
167	To Sir H. D. Wolff ..	28 Telegraphic	Oct. 11,	Alterations in draft Convention. No objection (see No. 165)	77
168	" " ..	34	11,	Extends above	77
169	" " ..	29 Telegraphic	11,	Recruiting in Turkey for Egyptian army. Suggests wording of clause (see No. 166) ..	77
170	" " ..	35	11,	Extends above	77
171	" " ..	30 Telegraphic	11,	Slave Trade Article. Suggests wording for ..	77
172	" " ..	36	11,	Extends above	78
173	Sir H. D. Wolff ..	63A Telegraphic	11,	Turkish officers and men for Egyptian army. Wants Lord Wolseley's opinion as to necessary number. Sultan afraid of denuding Empire	78
174	" " ..	63 B Confidential Telegraphic	11,	Recruititing and Slave Trade Articles. Further suggestions as to text	78
175	" " ..	65 Telegraphic	12,	Custom in Conventions. Are formal full powers or only Iradé necessary?	78
176	To Sir H. D. Wolff ..	31 Telegraphic	12,	Recruiting and Slave Trade clauses. Agrees to suggestions in No. 174 .. .	79
177	" " ..	32 Telegraphic	12,	Slave Trade Article. Mention Khedive as well as Commissioners	79
178	" " ..	37	12,	To have charge of political business of Agency while in Egypt. Forwards copy of No. 123.	79
179	" " ..	38	12,	Draft Convention. Subject to modifications stated approves proceedings	79
180	" " ..	33 Telegraphic	14,	Custom in Conventions. Inquiries are being made	80
181	Sir H. D. Wolff ..	66 Most Conf. Telegraphic	14,	Convention. Inquiries of French Ambassador at Porte (see No. 157)	80
182	" " ..	67 Telegraphic	14,	Slave Trade clause. Suggests wording ..	80
183	To Sir H. D. Wolff ..	39	15,	Slave Trade clause. Agrees to wording proposed (see above)	80
184	" " ..	35 Telegraphic	16,	Practice in Conventions. Information and suggestions (see No. 175)	80
185	" " ..	36 Telegraphic	16,	Delay in negotiations. Representation made to Musurus	81
186	" " ..	40	16,	Extends above	81
187	Sir H. D. Wolff ..	47 Confidential	9,	Recruiting in Turkey for Egyptian army. Fears of Sultan. Political considerations. Suggests solution of difficulties	81
188	" " ..	48	9,	Visit from Ibrahim Bey. Opinion as to effect of Mission on public opinion in Egypt ..	82
189	" " ..	49	12,	Proposed garrison for Suakin. Cannot be dealt with without reference to other matters.	82
190	" " ..	50	12,	Rough draft of Convention. Forwards ..	82

No.	Name.	No.	Date.	Subject.	Page
191	Sir H. D. Wolff ..	51	Oct. 13, 1885	Convention. Conversation with M. de Radowitz. Probable Commissioner, Raouf Pasha	83
192	" " ..	68 Telegraphic	17,	Slave Trade clause. Objections of Porte. Proposed wording. Recruiting clause adopted	84
193	To Sir H. D. Wolff ..	37 Telegraphic	18,	Slave Trade clause. Approves proposed wording (see above)	84
194	" " ..	41	18,	Extends above	84
195	Sir H. D. Wolff ..	69 Most Conf. Telegraphic	18,	Sultan intends to send order to Khedive. Prince Halim in disgrace	84
196	" " ..	70 Telegraphic	19,	French Ambassador anxious that consideration should be shown for France	85
197	To Sir H. D. Wolff ..	42	19,	Conversation with Ibrahim Bey. Approves language (see No. 188)	85
198	Sir H. D. Wolff ..	71 Telegraphic	20,	Recruiting clause. Reasons why Grand Vizier wishes it to end at "will reorganize the army"	85
199	" " ..	72 Most Conf. Telegraphic	21,	Message to Sultan to induce postponement of departure. Reply made	86
200	" " ..	73 Confidential Telegraphic	21,	Further message from Sultan. Convention to be signed to-morrow. Two days' postponement of departure requested	86
201	" " .	74 Confidential Telegraphic	21,	Iradé issued, but reserving points. General Grenfell's opinion as to number of Turks necessary for Egyptian army	86
202	To Sir H. D. Wolff ..	Telegraphic	22,	Military organization. Possible arrangement in military Protocol	86
203	" " ..	46	22,	Extends above	86
204	Sir H. D. Wolff ..	Private and Most Conf. Telegraphic	22,	Sultan's objections to end of recruiting clause. Difficulty in surmounting them. Advice on all sides to accept proposals. Dangers of rupture	87
205	" " ..	Private Telegraphic	22,	Recruitment. Question gone beyond Protocols (see No. 202)	88
206	" " ..	Private Telegraphic	23,	Egyptian army. Can two Powers execute Convention without consent of others? ..	88
207	To Sir H. D. Wolff ..	Telegraphic	23,	His services to Mussulmans at Philippopoli. Date of note of thanks from Porte (see No. 205)	88
208	" " ..	38 Telegraphic	23,	Convention. Authorized to sign. Obtain note as to Slave Trade if possible	89
209	" " ..	45	23,	Extends above	89
210	Sir H. D. Wolff ..	52 Confidential	16,	Intended departure on the 20th. Note addressed to Porte announcing	89
211	" " ..	53	16,	Convention. Russian Ambassador told Powers will not be interested in it, as all international engagements are reserved. He thinks Riza Pasha will be Turkish Commissioner	91
212	" " ..	54	17,	Iradé. Hopes it will appear Monday. Kindness of M. de Radowitz. Said Pasha's appointment no advantage	91
213	" " ..	55 Most Conf.	19,	Mussulman races. Policy of conciliating ..	91
214	" " ..	57	20,	Messages from Grand Vizier and Sultan respecting recruitment and Slave Trade. Arguments used	93
215	" " ..	76 Telegraphic	24,	Convention signed. Remarks of Grand Vizier after signature as to recruitment and Slave Trade	94
216	" " ..	77 Telegraphic	24,	Convention. Ratifications to be exchanged in fifteen days at Constantinople	95
217	" " ..	78 Telegraphic	25,	Sultan will give audience to-morrow. Proposes to leave in the afternoon	95
218	To Sir E. Malet ..	470	25,	Assistance to Sir H. D. Wolff. Gratitude of Her Majesty's Government to Germany for	95
219	Sir H. D. Wolff ..	Telegraphic	29,	Reports arrival at Cairo	95
220	" " ..	79 Telegraphic	30,	Ratification should leave London to-morrow or Protocol of prolongation be signed. Urge nomination of Turkish Commissioner ..	95
221	To Sir H. D. Wolff ..	48	30,	Representations respecting delay in negotiations. Approves	96

No.	Name.	No.	Date.	Subject.	Page
222	Sir H. D. Wolff ..	58 Confidential	Oct. 23, 1885	Audience with Sultan	96
222*	" " ..	59	24,	Sends by messenger original Convention. Also Memorandum adopting the French text as the text of interpretation	96*
223	" " ..	60 Confidential	24,	Convention. Reason for adoption of French text as text of interpretation	96
224	" " ..	61	24,	Convention. Advantages of ..	97
225	" " ..	62	24,	Points on Treaty not agreed to. Remarks upon	98
226	" " ..	63	26,	Assistance received from Sir W. White. Gratitude for	99
227	" " ..	64	26,	Services of Mr. Marinitch. Brings to notice .	99
227*	" " ..	Private Telegraphic	31,	Understanding with France. What are present relations?	99
228	" " ..	81 Telegraphic	31,	Early dispatch of Turkish Commissioner. Telegram sent to Sir W. White	100
229	" " ..	82 Telegraphic	31,	Audience of Khedive. His reply to address .	100
230	To Sir W. White ..	173 Telegraphic	31,	Protocol of prolongation. Ask Said to sign. Ratification cannot arrive in time	100
231	To Sir H. D. Wolff ..	39 Secret Telegraphic	Nov. 1.	Relations with France. Explains (see No. 227*)	100
232	Sir H. D. Wolff ..	84 Telegraphic	1,	Reduction of force in Egypt. Danger in ..	101
233	Sir E. Malet ..	532	Oct. 31,	Assistance to Sir H. Drummond Wolff. Message given to German Government (see No. 218)	101
234	To Sir H. D. Wolff ..	40 Telegraphic	Nov. 2,	Grain trade on Red Sea coast. Admiralty informed	101
235	" " ..	41 Telegraphic	2,	Reduction in force in Egypt. None will be made at present (see No. 232)	101
236	Sir H. D. Wolff ..	85 Secret and Confidential Telegraphic	2,	Massowah. Conversation with Italian Consul-General. Urge Italian Government to defer measures	101
237	" " ..	86 Telegraphic	2,	Apprehension of invasion. Better news from Soudan. Desire to avoid capital punishment	102
238	To Sir W. White ..	177 Telegraphic	2,	Appointment and departure of Turkish Commissioner. Obtain speedily, if possible ..	102
239	" " ..	403	2,	Extends above	102
240	Sir H. D. Wolff ..	87 Telegraphic	2,	Trade routes and transit of arms from Tripoli to the Soudan. Lieutenant Stuart-Wortley should go to Siwah to inquire respecting ..	103
241	" " ..	88 Secret and Confidential Telegraphic	3,	Egyptian Commissioner. Possible appointment of Chérif. Nubar wants Abd-el-Kader ..	103
242	To Sir H. D. Wolff ..	42 Telegraphic	3,	Massowah. Communication shall be made to Italian Government (see No. 236) ..	103
243	" " ..	43 Telegraphic	3,	Proposed mission to Siwah. No objection (see No. 240)	103
244	To Sir J. S. Lumley ..	94 Telegraphic	3,	Italian occupation of Massowah. Attitude of Her Majesty's Government unchanged, but cannot induce to take away Governor ..	103
245	Sir W. White ..	174 Telegraphic	3,	Ratification of Convention. Said willing to sign Protocol of prolongation ..	103
246	" " ..	175 Telegraphic	3,	Appointment of Commissioner. Fresh representations will be made to Sultan (see No. 238)	104
247	Sir H. D. Wolff ..	89 Telegraphic	4,	Egyptian Commissioner. Attempts to get Chérif appointed	104
248	To Sir W. White ..	179 Telegraphic	4,	Ratification of Convention. Will be sent this evening	104
249	To Sir H. D. Wolff ..	44 Telegraphic	4,	Journey to Siwah. Report probable cost ..	104
250	To Sir W. White .	408	4,	Support to Sir H. D. Wolff. Thanks of Her Majesty's Government for	104
251	Sir H. D. Wolff ..	91 Telegraphic	5,	Reinforcements for front necessary. Could more troops be sent from England? ..	105
252	" " ..	93 Telegraphic	5,	Journey to Siwah. Cannot estimate expense yet. Mr. Wortley will go to Wady Halfa (see No. 249)	105
253	" " ..	95 Telegraphic	5,	Peaceful arrangement with Soudanese, but resistance to advance on Egyptian territory. Wishes General Grenfell to spread abroad views as to	105

No.	Name.	No.	Date.	Subject.	Page
254	To Sir H. D. Wolff ..	47 Telegraphic	Nov. 5, 1885	Reinforcements. General should apply direct to War Office (see No. 251)	105
255	Sir H. D. Wolff ..	96 Confidential	5,	Domains. Could views of Rothschilds as to farming be obtained?	106
256	To Sir H. D. Wolff	Telegraphic 48 Telegraphic	5,	Negotiations with Soudanese. Must be with full assent of military authorities (see No. 253)	106
257	" " ..	51	5,	Extends above	106
258	" " ..	49 Telegraphic	5,	Egyptian Commissioner. Approves proposed communication as to appointment (see No. 247)	106
259	" " ..	50	5,	Extends above	107
260	Sir H. D. Wolff	97 Telegraphic	6,	Negotiations with Soudanese. Suggestions might be communicated to War Office (see No. 256)	107
261	To Sir H. D. Wolff ..	50 Telegraphic	6,	Journey to Siwah. Approximate estimate indispensable	107
262	" " ..	51 Telegraphic	6,	All military news communicated to War Office and *vice versâ*	107
263	" " ..	52 Telegraphic	6,	Grain trade at Suakin. Three vessels already at Suakin; another sent ..	107
264	" " ..	53 Telegraphic	6,	Domains. Letter from Messrs. Rothschild's goes to you to-night (see No. 255) .	108
265	Sir H. D. Wolff ..	98 Telegraphic	7,	Journey to Siwah. Postponed (see No. 261)	108
266	Sir W. White ..	184 Secret Telegraphic	7,	Moukhtar Pasha to be Turkish Commissioner..	108
267	Sir H. D. Wolff ..	99 Telegraphic	8,	Anxiety of Khedive at delay in appointment of Turkish Commissioner. Telegram sent to Sir W. White	108
268	" " ..	100 Telegraphic	8,	Moukhtar appointed Turkish Commissioner. Fall of Sennaar certain .. .	108
269	Sir W. White ..	187 Telegraphic	8,	Moukhtar Pasha. Report of appointment confirmed. May gratification be expressed? ..	109
270	To Sir W. White ..	188 Telegraphic	9,	Appointment of Moukhtar Pasha. Express gratification (see above)	109
271	" " ..	418	9,	Extends above ..	109
272	Sir H. D. Wolff ..	101 Telegraphic	9,	Reported advance of rebels. Widespread alarm. Measures taken by Baker Pasha ..	109
273	" " ..	102 Telegraphic	9,	Egyptian Commissioner. Will speak to Khedive respecting idea of appointing Chérif (see No. 258)	109
274	" " ..	103 Telegraphic	9,	News brought by nun from Khartoum. Soudanese left for Korosko	110
275	To Sir H. D. Wolff ..	55 Telegraphic	9,	Negotiations with Soudanese. General has telegraphed objections (see No. 253) ..	110
276	" " ..	56	9,	Extends above	110
277	" " ..	56 Telegraphic	9,	Deepening of Alexandria Harbour. Refers to previous correspondence	110
278	Sir H. D. Wolff ..	104 Telegraphic	9,	Rumoured change of Ministry. Recommends representation at Constantinople in favour of Nubar ..	111
279	" " ..	65	Oct. 30,	Account of final audience of Sultan ..	111
280	" " ..	66	30,	Arrival and reception at Alexandria ..	111
281	" " .	67 Confidential	Nov. 1,	Opinion of Nubar Pasha respecting Convention	112
282	" " ..	68	1,	Private interview with Khedive. Account of	112
283	" " ..	69	1,	Official audience of Khedive. Copy of address to His Highness, and speech in reply ..	112
284	" " ..	70	2,	Negotiations with Soudanese. Opinion of Governor of Cairo as to necessity of their being carried on by Mussulmans	114
285	" " ..	71 Confidential	2,	Feeling among foreign Representatives as to mission. Account of	114
286	" " ..	72 Confidential	3,	Visit from M. Martino. Anticipations not encouraging	114
287	" " ..	73 Secret and Confidential	3,	Massowah. Arrangement proposed by M. de Martino	115
288	" " ..	105 Telegraphic	10,	Egyptian Commissioner. Khedive promises not to appoint Chérif ..	116
289	" " ..	106 Telegraphic	10,	Advance from Soudanese mutiny to send Egyptian troops to frontier. Mr. Vincent intends to claim later from Her Majesty's Government	116

No.	Name.	No.	Date.	Subject.	Page
290	To Sir H. D. Wolff ..	57 Telegraphic	Nov. 10, 1885	Negotiations with Soudanese. Give no impression of reluctance to fight. As to message to insurgents	116
291	" " ..	55	10,	Extends above	116
291*	" " ..	58 Telegraphic	10,	Nubar Pasha. Tell Khedive he has support of both parties in this country .. .	117
292	Sir H. D. Wolff ..	107 Telegraphic	10,	Export of horses from Turkey. Could not order to stop be relaxed	117
293	" " ..	108 Telegraphic	11,	Negotiations with Soudanese. General Grenfell might consider as to sounding insurgents (see No. 290)	117
294	" " ..	109 Telegraphic	11,	Negotiations with Soudanese. Proposed telegram to General Grenfell ..	117
295	" " ..	110 Telegraphic	11,	Colonel Messedaglia. Says he can obtain access to insurgents. If General is satisfied will send him to General Grenfell, or take him up (see above)	118
296	" " ..	111 Telegraphic	11,	Moukhtar Pasha. Requests instructions to naval and military authorities as to honours on his arrival.	118
297	" " ..	112 Telegraphic	12,	Colonel Messedaglia. Proposes to send him to Assouan	118
298	To Sir H. D. Wolff ..	59 Telegraphic	12,	Negotiations with Soudanese. Approves manner of communication suggested if Generals Stephenson and Grenfell are satisfied (see No. 294)	118
299	" " ..	58	12,	Extends above	118
300	Sir H. D. Wolff ..	113 Telegraphic	13,	Negotiations with Soudanese. General Grenfell's opinion (see No. 298)	119
301	" " ..	114 Telegraphic	13,	Employment of Chérif and Riaz would be fatal to Nubar. Should not be insisted on ..	119
301*	War Office ..	Confidential	14,	Negotiations with Soudanese. Telegram sent to General Grenfell	119*
302	Sir H. D. Wolff ..	115 Telegraphic	14,	Zebehr Pasha's return. Opinions of Nubar and General Stephenson. Question should be postponed till arrival of Turkish Commissioner	119
303	To Sir H. D. Wolff ..	60 Telegraphic	14,	Honours to Moukhtar on arrival. Instructions sent to naval and military authorities (see No. 296)	119
304	Sir H. D. Wolff ..	116 Telegraphic	14,	Convention. Telegram from Mr. Wortley as to native opinion	120
305	" " ..	117 Telegraphic	15,	Palace intrigue against Nubar. Could Sultan's influence be requested for his support ..	120
306	Sir W. White ..	201 Telegraphic	15,	Moukhtar's mission and other matters. Is watching opportunity to speak to Sultan, who is absorbed in Conference	120
307	" " ..	491 Secret	9,	Instructions to Turkish Commissioner. Mazbata addressed to Sultan	120
308	To Sir H. D. Wolff ..	61 Telegraphic	16,	Nubar. Not advisable to apply to Sultan (see No. 305)	123
309	" " ..	62 Telegraphic	16,	Domains. Any objections to Sir S. Baker assisting in inquiry?	123
310	Sir H. D. Wolff ..	74 Confidential	4,	Intrigues against Nubar. Account of unfitness of Chérif for post of negotiator	123
311	" " ..	75	5,	Convention and policy of Her Majesty's Government. Article from "El Zamân".	124
312	" " ..	76 Confidential	7,	Negotiations with Soudanese. Opinion of General Grenfell as to effect of co-operation of Sultan on	125
313	" " ..	77	8,	Employment of Turkish troops in Egypt. Memorandum by General Grenfell as to disadvantages	126
314	" " .	78 Very Conf.	9,	Possible appointment of Chérif as Egyptian Commissioner. Representations made to the Khedive. His reply	127
315	" " ..	79	9,	Appointment of Moukhtar. Opinion as to ..	128
316	" " ..	80 Very Conf.	10,	Reported intrigues against English influence. Mr. Corbett sent by Khedive to contradict rumours. Chérif will not be appointed Delegate	128
317	" " ..	81	10,	Appointment of Moukhtar. Article from "El Zamân"	130
318	To Sir H. D. Wolff ..	63 Telegraphic	18,	Massowah. Italian Ambassador told we will urge Egyptian Government to make Italian position less difficult	131

No.	Name.	No.	Date.	Subject.	Page
319	Sir W. White ..	208 Telegraphic	Nov. 19, 1885	Decorations for Khedive. Sent by Mehate Bey, which may mean delay in sending Commissioner	131
320	Sir H. D. Wolff ..	119 Telegraphic	19,	Massowah. Nubar will do what he can (see No. 318)	131
321	" " ..	120 Telegraphic	20,	Advance made for frontier force. Mr. Vincent says it must be repaid to Egyptian Treasury (see No. 289)	131
322	" " ..	84	13,	Sultan's influence over Soudanese. Letter from General Grenfell (see No. 312)	132
323	" " ..	85	14,	Soudan question. Memorandum by Siufi Brothers on	132
324	" " ..	86	14,	Interviews with Shiekh Ul-Islam and Shiekh Es-Sadaat	133
325	" " ..	88	14,	Reports from frontier. Forwards telegrams from Mr. Stuart-Wortley	134
326	" " ..	89	14,	Colonel Messedaglia. Will be sent to the frontier	137
327	" " ..	90 Most Conf.	16,	Intrigues against Nubar. Account of chief political characters in Egypt	137
328	" " ..	92	16,	Financial position of Egypt. Has requested Mr. Lang to call and give views on subject to Lord Salisbury ..	139
329	" " ..	93	16,	Zebehr's return. Opinion of Nubar and Sir F. Stephenson. Question had better stand over till Moukhtar's arrival	139
330	" " ..	95 Confidential	17,	Proposed negotiations with Soudanese. Opinion of General Grenfell	139
231	" " ..	96	17,	Proclamation by Sheikh-es-Senoussi to Soudanese. Urges desistance from warfare ..	140
332	" " ..	121 Telegraphic	23,	Appointment might be notified to Porte and time when Moukhtar will start asked ..	141
333	To Sir W. White ..	214 Telegraphic	24,	Sir H. D. Wolff appointed Commissioner under Convention. Notify to Porte, and say he is awaiting arrival of Turkish Commissioner ..	141
334	" " ..	448	24,	Extends above	142
335	To Sir H. D. Wolff ..	64 Telegraphic	24,	Notification of appointment to Porte. Wishes complied with (see No. 332)	142
336	" " ..	68	24,	Extends above ..	142
337	Sir W. White ..	217 Telegraphic	24,	Ratifications of Convention exchanged. Turkish Commissioner to leave in a few days ..	142
338	To Sir H. D. Wolff ..	65	24,	Appointment of Egyptian Commissioner. Approves language to Khedive (see No. 310)	142
339	" " ..	66	24,	Support of Nubar. Approves action (see No 316)	143
340	" " ..	69	24,	Dispatch of Mr. Stuart-Wortley to frontier. Approves (see No. 325)	143
341	Sir H. D. Wolff ..	Separate and Confidential	12,	Russian policy in South-Eastern Europe. In no way influenced by mission to Egypt ..	143
342	" " ..	122 Telegraphic	25,	Sultan's Aides-de-camp. Waiting for orders to return. They have interviews with Chérif	143
343	" " ..	123 Telegraphic	26,	Ali, son of Hassan Abor Goort. What is Lord Wolseley's opinion of him?	144
344	To Sir H. D. Wolff ..	70	26,	Colonel Messedaglia. What will cost of his going to the frontier be? (see No. 326) ..	144
345	War Office . ..	..	26,	Advance for frontier force. Should fall on Egyptian revenues (see No. 321) ..	144
346	Sir H. D. Wolff ..	125 Telegraphic	28,	Colonel Messedaglia. General Stephenson wishes to employ him at Luxor and Derawe	144
347	" " ..	97 Confidential	18,	Interview with M. Barrère. Cordiality of sentiments	145
348	" " ..	98 Secret and Most Conf.	20,	Palace intrigues. Order to Mudirs issued by Khedive. Representations of Nubar effectual	145
349	" " ..	99	20,	Advance for frontier force. Note from Mr. Vincent as to repayment (see No. 345) ..	146
350	" " ..	100	24,	Negotiations with Darfur. Memorandum respecting employment of Hamsa Bey to conduct	147
351	" " ..	102 Confidential	24,	Frontier negotiations. Forwards despatch from Mr. Stuart-Wortley	148
352	" " ..	126 Telegraphic	30,	Taxation and grain corvée. Commissions to be formed	150

No.	Name.	No.	Date.	Subject.	Page
353	To Sir H. D. Wolff ..	72	Nov. 30, 1885	Advance for frontier force. War Office think cost should be defrayed out of Egyptian revenues (see No. 345).. .. .	150
354	" " ..	66 Telegraphic	Dec. 3,	Colonel Messedaglia. May be employed. As to remuneration (see No. 346)	150
354*	" " ..	75	3,	Extends above	150*
355	" " ..	67 Telegraphic	3,	Ali Goort. Has no claim for compensation (see No. 343)	150
356	Sir H. D. Wolff ..	128 Confidential Telegraphic	5,	Frontier. Alarming reports. Alarmist articles. Views of General and M. Sogaro . ..	150
357	" " ..	129 Telegraphic	6,	Hostile feeling along river to Korosko. Reasons	151
358	" " ..	103	Nov. 27,	Conversation with Sheikhs Morghani respecting Soudan	151
359	" " ..	104 Confidential	28,	Sultan's Aides-de-camp. Treatment of ..	152
360	" " ..	105 Most Conf.	29,	Interview with M. Barrère. His views as to best Egyptian Ministers, and how French interests might be consulted	152
361	" " ..	106	30,	Question of reoccupation of Dongola. Despatch from Mr. Stuart-Wortley.. ..	153
362	Nil.				
363	Sir H. D. Wolff ..	107	30,	Date of Moukhtar's arrival, and attitude of Sultan's Aides-de-camp. Correspondence with Saïd Pasha	156
364	" " ..	132 Telegraphic	Dec. 8,	Peaceful negotiations in Soudan. Might be pointed out to Porte opportunity lost by delay in sending their Commissioner ..	157
365	To Sir W. White ..	238 Telegraphic	9,	Delay in appointment of Commissioner. Point out results (see above)..	157
365*	" " ..	472	9,	Extends above	157*
366	To Sir H. D. Wolff ..	68 Telegraphic	9,	Delay in appointment of Turkish Commissioner. Wishes complied with (see No. 364) ..	158
367	Sir W. White ..	235 Telegraphic	9,	Turkish Commissioner. Will leave Sunday for certain	158
368	War Office ..	Confidential	10,	Advance for frontier force. No funds for repayment to Egyptian Treasury (see No. 353)	158
369	Sir H. D. Wolff ..	136 Telegraphic	11,	Withdrawal to Wady Halfa. Regrets if such course is taken	158
370	" " ..	140 Most Conf. Telegraphic	12,	Invitation to Constantinople. Khedive told not to come till affairs settled with Moukhtar ..	159
371	Sir W. White ..	238 Telegraphic	13,	Ottoman Commissioner. Papers not ready. Departure postponed till Monday.. ..	159
372	" " ..	239 Telegraphic	14,	Ottoman Commissioner. Departure postponed to Wednesday	159
373	" " ..	241 Telegraphic	17,	Protest against postponement of Ottoman Commissioner's departure. Unable to discover cause	159
374	" " ..	587	17,	Extends above	159
375	Sir H. D. Wolff ..	Telegraphic	19,	Withdrawal from Wady Halfa. Inadvisability from military and political reasons ..	160
376	" " ..	Telegraphic	20,	Increased agitation in Nile Valley. Due to attitude assumed on frontier	161
377	" " ..	150 Telegraphic	20,	Non-arrival of Turkish Commissioner. Sultan might be told we shall ourselves undertake objects of Convention	161
378	" " ..	151 Telegraphic	20,	Excitement in Esneh and Keneh. Mudir wishes to disarm people of Knous. Nubar opposed to withdrawal	162
379	To Sir W. White ..	252 Telegraphic	21,	Non-arrival of Turkish Commissioner. Tell Porte we shall proceed with objects of Convention (see No. 377)	162
379*	" " ..	485	21,	Extends above	162*
380	To Treasury . ..	..	21,	Advance for frontier force. Correspondence for observations (see No. 368)	162
381	Sir H. D. Wolff ..	108 Confidential	11,	Withdrawal to Wady Halfa. Points out danger politically	163
382	" " ..	109	14,	Advance for frontier force. Reasons why it should be repaid (see No. 368)	165
383	" " ..	110	14,	Withdrawal to Wady Halfa. Baker Pasha's opinion	166

No.	Name.	No.	Date.	Subject.	Page
384	Sir H. D. Wolff ..	112	Dec. 14, 1885	Return of Zebehr. Views of various persons and correspondence respecting	166
385	" " ..	114	15,	Garrison for Suakin. Views respecting General Baker's proposal. Memorandum by Mr. Vincent as to money available	169
386	" " .	115	16,	Reorganization of Egyptian army. Memorandum by General Watson on General Baker's scheme	170
387	" " ..	116	16,	Interview of Zebehr and General Gordon in January 1884. Notes by General Watson..	172
388	To Sir H. D. Wolff ..	81	22,	Negotiations with Turkish Commissioner. Direct attention specially to reorganization of army, finances, and international condition of country	174
389	Sir H. D. Wolff ..	154 Telegraphic	23,	Moukhtar. Started for Egypt	175
390	Sir W. White ..	243 Telegraphic	23,	Moukhtar. Sailed for Egypt	175
391	" " ..	244 Telegraphic	23,	Departure of Moukhtar. Has not acted on No. 379 in consequence of	176
392	" " ..	14 Treaty	15,	Ratification of Convention. Delay due to procrastination of the Sublime Porte.. .	176
393	To Sir H. D. Wolff ..	77 Telegraphic	26,	Draw attention to subjects to be specially dealt with. Despatch follows	176
394	Sir H. D. Wolff ..	158 Telegraphic	27,	Moukhtar arrived	176
395	" " ..	120	21,	Reforms in Egyptian army and gendarmerie. Notice should be given that they will be proceeded with at once	177
396	" " ..	159 Telegraphic	28,	Moukhtar wishes to defer business till he can study situation	177
397	" " ..	161 Secret and Confidential Telegraphic	29,	Intrigues of Moukhtar with Pashas. Reported that he proposes to be War Minister ..	177
398	" " ..	163 Confidential Telegraphic	30,	Moukhtar. Advisable to give him a field day	178
399	To Sir H. D. Wolff ..	79 Telegraphic	30,	Moukhtar's intention to become War Minister. Approves intention to oppose (see No. 397)..	178
400	Sir H. D. Wolff ..	164 Most Conf. Telegraphic	31,	Moukhtar. Has written that moment has arrived for exchange of views	178
401	" " ..	165 Telegraphic	31,	Conduct of Egyptians at the front. Telegram from Sir F. Stephenson to Khedive ..	178

Printed for the use of the Foreign Office. January 1886.

CONFIDENTIAL.

Correspondence respecting Sir H. Drummond Wolff's Mission.

No. 1.

Assim Pasha to Musurus Pasha.—(Communicated to the Marquis of Salisbury by Musurus Pasha, July 31.)

(Télégraphique.) *Constantinople, le* 31 *Juillet*, 1885.

REÇU télégrammes Nos. 288 et 293.

La mission dont sera chargé à Constantinople Sir Henry Drummond Wolff ne pouvant que faciliter l'entente désirée touchant la question pendante d'Égypte, le Gouvernement Ottoman l'accueillera naturellement avec satisfaction, et Sa Majesté Impériale le Sultan y a donné son plein agrément.

Veuillez en informer Lord Salisbury.

No. 2.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir H. Drummond Wolff.

(No. 1.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, August* 7, 1885.

I HAVE to inform you that you have been accredited by Her Majesty as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to His Imperial Majesty the Sultan, on a special mission having reference to the affairs of Egypt.

It is the wish of Her Majesty's Government to recognize in its full significance the position which is secured to His Majesty the Sultan as Sovereign of Egypt by Treaties and other instruments having a force under international law. They are of opinion that the authority of the Sultan over the large portion of the Mahommedan world which exists under his rule will be much assured by a due recognition of his legitimate position in respect to Egypt; and, on the other hand, they believe that it is in His Majesty's power to contribute materially to the establishment of settled order and good government in portions of that country which have recently been subject to the calamity of armed rebellion. The co-operation of the Sultan will doubtless exercise a marked influence on the minds of large bodies of the inhabitants who profess the faith of Islam, and will neutralize any evil effects arising from any suspicion they may have entertained that it was intended to subject them to the domination of nations differing from themselves in faith. The Sultan also possesses in the various races under his rule the means of supplying soldiers to whom the climate of the southern territories of Egypt is not injurious, and he is therefore in a position to bring to bear upon the task of restoring and maintaining order in those regions brave and efficient troops who will suffer under no material disadvantage to which the insurgent inhabitants of the country itself are not exposed.

These considerations make it a matter of high importance both to the welfare of Egypt and to the objects which Her Majesty's Government have had in view, that the military co-operation of the Sultan should be obtained in maintaining order in some portions of the Egyptian territory which are no longer protected by the Egyptian troops. Such a step on his part would do much to establish his hold over the country and the maintenance of his just rights as ascertained by Treaty, and it would add lustre to the prestige which the name of his Government enjoys in the more distant provinces of his Empire.

From communications, however, which have been made to Her Majesty's Government by the Turkish Ambassador in London, it appears probable that the Sultan would insist, as a condition of any such co-operation as that of which I have spoken, that his troops should not only be stationed in the south of Egypt, but also in the capital

of the country, in Cairo itself; the object of His Majesty being that, so long as the English occupation continued, the Turkish occupation should continue side by side with it.

Objections may be raised, in principle, to this arrangement from many points of view, but if it were guarded against misapprehension, if precautions were taken that the arrangement was not turned to objects for which it was not designed, the proposal does not seem to Her Majesty's Government inadmissible in itself.

The objections taken by other Governments, especially by the Government of France, to any such proposal, are well known to His Majesty. I do not venture to forecast how far those objections may go, and to what extent they are to be looked upon as insuperable. There is no doubt that they will constitute a material obstacle to the accomplishment of the Sultan's wishes. If they are to be overcome at all, it can only be by the lapse of time.

It is possible that other considerations may arise which may modify the view which the French Government take upon this subject. I do not think it is necessary to abandon all hope of some such change in their policy, but in the meantime it will be your duty to impress upon the Sultan that the best road to the accomplishment of what he desires is the introduction of Turkish troops into those parts of Egypt where apparently they will not meet with any objection on the part of the Government of France. From this point of view, as well as from others, it will not be difficult for you to show to the Sultan that his real interest lies in the acceptance, on his part, in principle at all events, of the policy of co-operating in the military protection of the southern territories contiguous to Egypt.

For the present, the view of Her Majesty's Government is that the direct dominion of the Khedive should not be carried further in the valley of the Nile than the region which may be conveniently controlled from a military station at the furthest terminus of the railways.

The details must be dealt with as questions severally arise. I shall have an opportunity of communicating with you further in respect to them if His Majesty shall show himself favourable to the ideas which I have explained above.

You will of course point out to His Majesty that in some way or other it is an obligation incumbent on the British Government to do what is in their power to provide for the pacification and settled order of the Soudan. In their opinion, the military co-operation of the Sultan will be the most effective plan for attaining this result; but if that co-operation should be denied them, they will not thereby be released from their obligation. It will be necessary for them to look out for other means of providing for the defence and order of the Soudan. It cannot be expected that this country will permanently take such a burden upon itself, and if His Majesty the Sultan refuses to bear any part in the task, it will not be open to his Government to complain if the assistance of other forces is invoked. It will be the duty, in such a case, of Her Majesty's Government to ascertain how far native influences may be available on which a settled form of government can be built, or whether in any degree it is necessary to recur to foreign assistance; but it will not escape the Government of the Sultan that either of these alternatives will tend to diminish rather than to increase the strength of the bond which unites Egypt with Turkey.

The course of action which you will pursue in Egypt must be largely influenced by the result of your negotiations at Constantinople, and until that result is known, detailed instructions upon this matter will be impossible. But the general object of your mission will be, in the first instance, to secure for this country the amount of influence which is necessary for its own Imperial interests, and, subject to that condition, to provide a strong and efficient Egyptian Government, as free as possible from foreign interference. The facilities for foreign interference furnished by the international obligations which now attach to so many branches of Egyptian administration will be found to depend principally upon the unsatisfactory position of Egyptian finance. If Egypt were in a condition to pay her way with ease, the opportunities for interference would diminish, and in many cases disappear. It will be your duty to satisfy yourself as to the present expenditure of the Egyptian Government, especially so far as it is influenced by the employment of foreign agents. If the number of these foreign agents can be diminished, it is possible that in some aspects the administration might lose in efficiency, but it would gain in two other ways: it would become much cheaper, and it would be less antagonistic to the feelings and prejudices of the people. Reforms in the administration of Egypt in many vital points are undoubtedly required, and Her Majesty's Government would shrink from any action by which the attainment of that improvement would be retarded. But there is undoubtedly a growing impression that

the influence of England has been injured, and the cause of true progress in Egypt has been arrested, by the precipitancy with which an Oriental population has been compelled to accept reforms conceived in the spirit of Western civilization. Her Majesty's Government will not attempt to lay down beforehand the extent to which either financial ease or popularity with the natives can be safely obtained by dispensing with European agency. The process, undertaken rashly, may easily be carried too far. The native community cannot be governed according to its own ideas entirely. I do not attempt to establish beforehand a balance between the two considerations. I only wish to indicate, for your investigation and report, the direction in which a remedy is probably to be sought for the most serious evil under which Egypt is at present labouring

Her Majesty's Government desire to conclude these instructions by two observations. In the first place, a strict observance of the various International Agreements binding on the Khedive is indispensably necessary. In the second, it is necessary to avoid, with the utmost care, any action which might give to the Khedive the slightest ground for apprehending that Her Majesty's Government are wavering in the determination of supporting him, to which for many years they have adhered.

I am, &c.
(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 3.

E
(No. 696.)

The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir J. Walsham.

Sir,

Foreign Office, August 7, 1885.

WHEN M. Waddington was with me to-day he took occasion to allude to the mission of Sir H. Wolff. He said he had hoped that Sir H. Wolff would have passed by Paris, for he thought that a conversation with M. de Freycinet would have dissipated many erroneous impressions that prevailed with respect to the mission, of whose exact nature everybody was ignorant.

I said that Sir H. Wolff had already made his arrangements to be at Vienna by a certain day, when M. Waddington's letter, in which he had made this suggestion, had reached me, and that it was too late to make any change. I said, however, that Sir H. Wolff could tell M. de Freycinet nothing that I had not already told M. Waddington. I repeated that we sought the assistance of the Turkish Government for the purpose of pacifying and defending certain portions of the Soudan which were contiguous to Egypt.

As far as our own views went, we saw no objection to their assisting in maintaining order in Egypt itself, but that we were aware of the objection entertained by the French Government, and we had, in consequence, not insisted upon that point. M. Waddington said he thought, speaking personally, that the idea of restoring order in the regions of the Soudan to which I referred, by the help of Turkish troops, was a good one, but he doubted very much, from past experience, whether I should obtain the co-operation of the Sultan on any terms that other Powers would be inclined to acquiesce in. We then spoke again of the difficulties of the Egyptian question, and of our own desire to settle it. There was a trace of more impatience in his tone than I had observed in any former conversation. He, however, in no way departed from the friendly language which he had formerly employed. In speaking of the future, he said that the Dual Control, though he believed that if it had been upheld it was the best solution of the problem, was a thing that could not be restored. It was possible that some other arrangement, inspired by the same spirit, might afterwards be devised; but he again insisted on the great contribution which the French Government had made to the future settlement of the question by their readiness to undertake that, when British troops had evacuated Egypt, French troops should be absolutely precluded from entering it. He said that he and his Government had been very much blamed in France for making this promise, but he held to it, and believed it to be reasonable.

I did not enter into the discussion of any definite plans upon the Egyptian question.

I am, &c.
(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 4.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received by telegraph, August 11.)

(No. 3. Secret. Ext. 1.)

My Lord, *Cologne, August* 11, 1885.

AT an audience which was granted me by the King of the Belgians at Ostend yesterday His Majesty proposed to me, in the strictest confidence, that he should be charged with the organization of a settled Government in the Soudan. His Majesty referred to his connection with the International Association on the Congo as a proof of his experience in dealing with native tribes. He added that he should require a subsidy to enable him to carry out the enterprise.

I thanked His Majesty for his offer, and said that I should have the honour of communicating it to your Lordship, but I expressed no opinion as to the probability of its meeting with a favourable reception at your Lordship's hands.

I have, &c.

(Signed) H. DRUMMOND WOLFF.

No. 5.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received August 12, 6·40 P.M.)

(Private and Confidential.)

(Telegraphic.) *Vienna, August* 12, 1885, 5·30 P.M.

COUNT KÁLNOKY is gone; but I have seen M. Kállay and Count Szechenyi, who have given me very kind messages from him. I am to dine with them to-morrow night to discuss matters, and shall leave Friday morning.

They were full of friendly expressions, and declared the good-will of their Government towards Her Majesty's Government, their pleasure at its accession to office, and their desire to aid it as far as possible.

No. 6.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received August 14, 8·30 A.M.)

(Private and Secret.)

(Telegraphic.) *Vienna, August* 14, 1885, 12·20 A.M.

I HAVE just dined with M. Kállay, Count Szechenyi, and Pasetti, his deputy. They express desire, in the name of Count Kálnoky, that England should establish a good administration in Egypt under British preponderance. They will consent to the abolition of the Capitulations if International Tribunals are extended. Ambassadors of Germany and Austria will support demands for a good understanding between England and the Sultan. They positively declare that nothing we can do in Egypt will induce Austria to take Macedonia or cross frontier of Bosnia. They wish us to [?] scheme at once to Germany and Austria, and these two Governments will discuss it, so as to give an immediate answer, which may assist our negotiations.

Count Kálnoky left a message with M. Kállay, who gave it to me separately, to say that your Government had his entire sympathy, and he would do all he can to support it. All three spoke freely in the name both of Germany and Austria. They said that I should meet with a very good reception at Constantinople, but that Russia would oppose me bitterly. They do not think Turkey will, under any circumstances, return to the Soudan.

All I said was on my own behalf, and without instructions.

Turkish Ambassador called to-day, and was profuse in assurances of welcome by the Sultan.

Since writing above your private and secret telegram has arrived. I will answer it at length by messenger.

No. 7.

Sir W. White to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received by telegraph, August 14.)

(No. 356. Ext. 108.)

My Lord, *Therapia, August* 14, 1885.

I HAD the honour to report to your Lordship by telegraph, on the next day, that His Imperial Majesty had granted me a private audience on the 8th instant, and had been pleased to converse with me on various topics for full three-quarters of an hour in a most gracious manner.

The first subject, and one to which His Majesty returned and gave especial prominence, consisted in inquiries about the Queen's health, and after His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, expressing deep interest in the recent marriage of Her Royal Highness the Princess Beatrice.

His Majesty next alluded to your Lordship by stating that he had found a friend in you on previous occasions, and therefore was glad to think you were in office again, as he hoped that all pending questions might be adjusted and settled in accordance with existing Treaties, and that the arrangements would be favourable to the interests of both countries.

This was the only allusion to a political subject, the word "Egypt" not having been even mentioned.

With reference to Sir Henry Drummond Wolff's expected visit, the Sultan said that the choice made of him by Her Majesty's Government was very gratifying to him, as he was personally known to His Majesty, and as the decision that he should proceed by way of Constantinople could only be considered as a compliment.

Upon which I assured the Sultan that the desire to be agreeable to him had evidently dictated all these arrangements, and as a proof of this I referred to the steps taken to obtain His Imperial Majesty's "agrément" for the person of Sir H. Drummond Wolff before his departure from London had been finally decided upon.

His Majesty further kindly inquired after my family, expressing a wish to see them ere long, and once more recommended me to let the Queen know the deep interest he took in Her Majesty's welfare and health, and in that of the Royal Family.

This afternoon myself and my family had the honour of visiting by special invitation the Imperial kiosques, grounds, and stables, being accompanied by the Honourable Hobart Pasha. The Sultan did not appear, but we were presented to three Imperial Princes who received us on behalf of His Majesty.

I have, &c.

(Signed) W. A. WHITE.

No. 8.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir H. Drummond Wolff.

(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, August* 16, 1885, 4·30 P.M.

I PROPOSE to inform Austria and Germany as follows:—

We cannot at present fix date for leaving Egypt, but we wish to create confidence that we are not separating Egypt from Ottoman dominions, or doing anything contrary to Treaty law of Europe. Therefore, as well as for reasons of convenience, we wish to obtain a small Turkish contingent at Suakin and on the Nile, at southern frontier of Egypt proper. We hope latter contingent may be allowed to go through Egypt proper.

We should be glad to station a small Turkish detachment at Cairo or Alexandria, but we recognize that can only be done with full consent of Powers? Do you concur?

No. 9.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received August 16.)

(Private.)
(Telegraphic.)

Pesth, August 16, 1885, 9·25 P.M.

QUITE concur in proposed communication. But could it not be made in first instance confidentially, so as to see how far you will be supported, before it is made formally, adding that other Powers have not yet been consulted? Would you not therefore express wish to station Turkish garrison both at Cairo and Alexandria, and not alternatively, modifying your proposal later according to answers you obtain? Is it not better to ask more than you will take? Will you also add that you will proceed at once to reorganize administration as soon as this preliminary consideration is disposed of?

Just off. Shall arrive Therapia Thursday.

No. 10.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received August 17.)

(No. 1. Confidential.)

Vienna, August 13, 1885.

My Lord,

GENERAL NERIMAN KHAN, an Armenian gentleman and Persian Minister at this Court, sent me more than one message yesterday saying he wished to see me. He called in the afternoon, and proceeded to explain to me the purpose of his visit.

His great wish was to be of service to England, for which country he had always had the greatest attachment. At this moment he thought he could be of great service, owing to his knowledge both of Constantinople and Cairo. At the former city he had resided some time as Persian Chargé d'Affaires, at the latter as Agent and Consul-General.

The difficulties existing at present, whether in Egypt or the Soudan, could not be settled, in his opinion, either by Her Majesty's Government or the Turkish Government. Both were equally distasteful to the Soudanese mind, who would only treat with an Egyptian authority whose language was the same as theirs. But the present Egyptian Government was distasteful to the people. The Turkish authorities desired to replace the present Khedive by Halim. This was a mistake; Halim was devoted to the French. The only possible Ruler for Egypt was the late Khedive, Ismaïl. He is rich, talented, and able to govern. Restore him, with an English programme, which he would undertake to carry out, and no long time would elapse before order was restored, both in the Soudan and in Egypt. Turkey had behaved very badly to him, and the Minister was aware that your Lordship had deposed him. It would be difficult, therefore, for the English Government to make the advance. It was there that he (the Persian Minister) could be of use. He knew the ex-Khedive intimately, and out of his love for England would willingly act as an intermediary, and undertake that Ismaïl should accept the English programme.

I thanked the General very much for his suggestions, which I feared were unacceptable, as your Lordship had publicly declared your intention of giving your support to the present Khedive. He replied that in politics there was no such thing as either gratitude or resentment. The only method of obtaining tranquillity in Egypt was that he had explained, and he begged me to place his proposals confidentially before your Lordship.

The machinery set in motion by the ex-Khedive for his restoration is manifold and marvellous, and I have no doubt that this is not the last occasion when traces of it will be found in unexpected quarters.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. DRUMMOND WOLFF.

No. 11.

*The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir E. Malet.**

(No. 67. Confidential.)
(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, August 18, 1885, 1·50 P.M.

MAKE the following communication at Berlin [Vienna] confidentially, stating that it has not been made as yet to any other Court except Vienna [Berlin].

We cannot at present fix date for leaving Egypt; in fact, we think that fixing date would destroy our power of bringing country into good order; but we wish to create confidence that we do not mean to separate Egypt from Ottoman dominions, or to take any course contrary to Treaty law in Europe. Therefore, as well as for reasons of convenience, we wish to obtain a small Turkish contingent at Suakin and on the Nile at the southern frontier of Egypt proper. We hope that contingent may be allowed to go to latter station through Egypt proper. We should also be glad, for the same reasons, to station a small Turkish detachment at Alexandria and Cairo. All these Turkish detachments to stay in Egypt as long as the British stay, and to go when they go. We know that France has an objection to the presence of Turkish troops in Egypt proper, and that the measure cannot be taken unless that objection is overcome. We shall proceed to consider improvement of Egyptian administration as soon as this preliminary arrangement is disposed of.

No. 12.

Sir E. Malet to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received August 19.)

(No. 58.)
(Telegraphic.)

Berlin, August 19, 1885.

YOUR telegram No. 67, Confidential, of yesterday.

Have made desired communication confidentially to Count Hatzfeldt, who begged me to thank your Lordship and say that it would be at once submitted to Prince Bismarck.

He asked me if I was instructed to ask any expression of opinion on it from the German Government. I said not, but that I thought that the fact of its being made confidentially in the first instance to Berlin and Vienna showed that a confidential expression of opinion from those Courts would be appreciated.

(Secret.)

Count Hatzfeldt's strong but entirely personal opinion, which he begged me not to make use of, is that, however admirable the scheme proposed, it is of a nature likely to provoke insurmountable opposition from the Sultan.

No. 13.

Sir E. Malet to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received by telegraph, August 19.)

(No. 362. Ext. 58.)

Berlin, August 19, 1885.

My Lord,

WITH reference to your Lordship's telegram No. 67, Confidential, of yesterday's date, setting forth the proposal of Her Majesty's Government for obtaining a small Turkish contingent for service in Egypt, I have the honour to report that I made a communication confidentially to Count Hatzfeldt in the terms of your Lordship's telegram, and his Excellency desired me to thank your Lordship, and to state that it would be brought at once to the notice of Prince Bismarck.

His Excellency inquired whether I had been instructed to ask for the opinion of the German Government in this matter.

While stating that I had not received such instructions, I admitted to his Excellency that I considered the fact of the communication having been made in confidence to Berlin and to Vienna in the first instance showed that a confidential expression of opinion from those Courts would be appreciated.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWARD B. MALET.

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* Also to Sir A. Paget (No. 25).

No. 14.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received August 19.)

(Private.) *Rustchuk, August* 19, 1885.
(Telegraphic.)

YOUR telegram of 16th August.

Is it necessary to go so far as to say "that can only be done with full consent of Powers?" With secret concurrence of Germany and Austria, cannot you make arrangements with Sultan, and merely inform the Powers, as having concluded agreement within the rights of Sovereign of Egypt and ourselves? By alluding to "full consent" you may allow one Power to bar the way. Consent is, at any rate, not necessary to occupation of Suakin and of southern frontier of Egypt, if not through Egypt proper; and I understand from Captain Wortley troops could be marched to Assouan by Kosseir-Kench.

No. 15.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received August 19.)

(Private.) *Rustchuk, August* 19, 1885.
(Telegraphic.)

I FORGOT to mention that M. Kállay, in veiled but positive language, told me that if we did not soon organize a good government in Egypt, Germany would do so. Would it not be well, in making application to Austria and Germany, to say a good understanding with Turkey is indispensable to removal of Mussulman jealousies in carrying out reorganization, and that, this understanding effected, we are prepared to carry out reforms vigorously in every Department of Government? What attitude should I take with regard to Italy? Count Corti, who is a very old friend of mine, sends me message that he is hurrying from Carlsbad to his post, so as to assist me. In return he will probably expect confidences. What can I [? say] to him?

Send me any Memorandum as to designs and actions of France on Tripoli.

Should you withdraw any of our troops on arrival of Turkish forces? If so, in what proportion?

No. 16.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received August 20, 6 P.M.)

(No. 7.) *Constantinople, August* 20, 1885, 4·20 P.M.
(Telegraphic.)

IS it true what the "Temps" says, that the old Mudir has been authorized to occupy Dongola with black troops?

Is there any money remaining out of the 9,000,000*l.*, or to be obtained from English or Egyptian funds, by which Arab Chiefs could be subsidized?

No. 17.

Sir A. Paget to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received August 20, 6 P.M.)

(No. 15. Confidential.) *Vienna, August* 20, 1885.
(Telegraphic.)

I HAVE made to Count Kálnoky the confidential communication as directed in your telegram No. 25 of 18th instant.

His Excellency, while admitting that it was neither possible nor desirable to fix a date for withdrawal from Egypt, expressed approval of the intention to adhere to Treaty law in Europe, which had always been the basis of the Powers, and added that, if the proposed arrangements were agreed to by Turkey, there was nothing in them to which Austria need object.

No. 18.

Sir A. Paget to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received by telegraph, August 20.)

(No. 218. Confidential. Ext. 15.)

My Lord, *Vienna, August* 20, 1885.

I HAD the honour to receive on the evening of the 18th instant your Lordship's telegram No. 25 of that day, desiring me to make to the Cabinet of Vienna the confidential communication contained therein relative to the question of the withdrawal of the British troops from Egypt, and the employment of Turkish contingents at Suakin and on the Nile at the southern frontiers of Egypt proper.

Yesterday morning I wrote to Count Kálnoky for an interview, but his Excellency was unable to receive me, having to wait upon the Emperor at Schönbrunn, and he therefore requested me to call this morning.

I informed his Excellency that I had come to make to him a confidential communication which had not yet been made at any other Court except Berlin; and I then read to him a Memorandum, of which inclosed is a copy, and which is in conformity with your Lordship's telegram, with the exception of the omission of the first paragraph, and the insertion of a few words in order to disguise the cypher text.

When I had concluded Count Kálnoky said that he quite admitted that it was neither possible nor perhaps desirable to fix at this moment a date for the withdrawal of Her Majesty's forces from Egypt, that he thought the intention of adhering to Treaty law in Europe as regards Egypt, the basis which had always been upheld by the other Powers, was correct, and could not but be applauded.

His Excellency proceeded to say that, judging by past experience, he could not but anticipate that the Turkish Government would be found somewhat loth to enter into any agreement by which their own freedom of action in Egypt, as, for instance, taking any engagement as to a simultaneous withdrawal of the Turkish contingent with the English troops, might be curtailed, but if the Turkish Government should agree to the proposed arrangements there was nothing in them to which Austria need object.

Count Kálnoky having expressed a wish for a copy of the Memorandum, I left one in his hands.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. PAGET.

Inclosure in No. 18.

Memorandum.

(Confidential.)

HER Majesty's Government cannot at present fix a date for leaving Egypt. In fact, they think that fixing such a date would destroy a power that might contribute towards bringing the country into good order. But they wish to create a feeling of confidence that they do not mean to separate Egypt from the Ottoman dominions, or to take any course contrary to Treaty law in Europe.

On this account, therefore, and also for reasons of convenience, Her Majesty's Government desire to see a small Turkish contingent at Suakin, and also on the Nile at the southern frontiers of Egypt proper. They hope that the contingent may be allowed to go to the latter station through Egypt proper. They would also be glad, for the same reasons, that a small Turkish detachment should be stationed at Alexandria and Cairo; such Turkish detachments to stay in Egypt as long as the British troops remain there, and to be withdrawn when they go.

Her Majesty's Government are aware that France has an objection to the presence of Turkish troops in Egypt proper, and that the measure which they propose cannot be taken unless that objection be overcome.

Her Majesty's Government will proceed to consider the improvement of the Egyptian administration as soon as this preliminary arrangement shall have been disposed of.

Vienna, August 19, 1885.

No. 19.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received August 20, 6 P.M.)

(No. 7.)
(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, August 20, 1885, 4·20 P.M.

IS it true what the "Temps" says, that the old Mudir has been authorized to occupy Dongola with black troops?

Is there any money remaining out of the 9,000,000*l.*, or to be obtained from English or Egyptian funds, by which Arab Chiefs could be subsidized?

No. 20.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir H. Drummond Wolff.

(Secret.)
(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, August 21, 1885.

IF you have a chance, lead the Sultan to talk of what would happen to the Dardanelles in case of war with Russia. It is possible we may look in that direction for the price that is to pay us for what we have done in Egypt.

No. 21.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir H. Drummond Wolff.

(Private.)
(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, August 21, 1885.

YOURS 19th.

You will see that in my telegrams to Germany and Austria I have not spoken of full consent of Europe, but merely of France. We must persuade France, if we can, to let Turk into Egypt proper, but we cannot walk over her. I have held this language to Musurus, that we would persuade her if we could, but that I could promise no more. I do not despair of persuading her if we show that her refusal is the surest way to make our occupation perpetual. I will make similar communications to Italy in a few days. You will find Italy more in disgrace with Porte than we are. I imagine we should withdraw our troops in proportion to the Turkish contingent, taking care to remain masters. I will inquire, but I have not heard that France has had any designs against Tripoli.

No. 22.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received August 22.)

(No. 8. Confidential.)
(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, August 21, 1885, 8·47 P.M.

I PROPOSE, in case Sultan consents to send troops to Suakin and Assouan at once, that a Turkish Commissioner should accompany me to Wady Halfa to negotiate with the Soudanese. Sultan will see clearly that in our negotiations we cannot stipulate for recognition of Caliphate. On this point I believe he is very anxious, while there is a party in the Soudan ready for peace if an Empire be established not recognizing the Sultan as Caliph.

Please reply at once.

No. 23.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received by telegraph, August 22.)

(No. 4. Confidential. Ext. 8.)

Kavak, August 21, 1885.

My Lord,

IN the event of my obtaining the Sultan's consent for Turkish troops to be sent to Suakin and Assouan without delay, I should be glad to learn from your Lordship whether there would be any objection to the dispatch of a Turkish Commissioner to accompany me to Wady Halfa and to open negotiations with the Soudanese.

I believe that the Sultan is very anxious to stipulate for the recognition of the Caliphate in the Soudan; on the other hand, there is a party amongst the Soudanese who are ready for peace on the condition that an Empire be established not recognizing the Sultan as Caliph.

I think His Majesty will see clearly that we cannot enter into any formal engagements on this subject, and this consideration may have weight with the Sultan's decision.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. DRUMMOND WOLFF.

No. 24.

Mr. Egerton to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received August 22, noon.)

(No. 409.)
(Telegraphic.)

Cairo, August 22, 1885.

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF'S inquiry. No foundation for report respecting Mudir of Dongola. No question of sending black or other troops to Dongola.

(Repeated to Drummond Wolff.)

No. 25.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir H. Drummond Wolff.

(No. 3.)
(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, August 22, 1885, 4·50 P.M.

YOUR telegram No. 8 of yesterday.

It seems to me quite reasonable that, if Turkish troops are sent to Suakin and Wady Halfa, a Turkish Commissioner should accompany you to Wady Halfa.

Nothing settled about Afghanistan. Staal is to bring me a new proposal on Monday.

No. 26.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir H. Drummond Wolff.

(No. 9. Ext. 3.)

Foreign Office, August 22, 1885.

Sir,

WITH reference to your telegram No. 8 of yesterday's date, respecting the appointment of a Turkish Commissioner who should accompany you to Wady Halfa and negotiate with the Soudanese, I have informed you that, in my opinion, it would be quite reasonable that a Turkish Commissioner should accompany you if the Sultan agrees to send Turkish troops to Suakin and Wady Halfa.

I am, &c.
(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 27.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received August 22, 9·15 P.M.)

(No. 9.)
(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, August 22, 1885, 8·6 P.M.

LANDED this morning. Called this afternoon on Fakri Bey, in the absence of Assim Pasha, and left copy and translation of credentials and Her Majesty's message. Saw afterwards Grand Vizier and Edhem Pasha. Grand Vizier expressed in strongest manner the desire of the Sultan and his Government to maintain and strengthen the ancient ties between the two countries, and was full of the most courteous expressions towards your Lordship and myself. I stated that the principal object of my mission was to combine the reorganization of Egypt with the recognition of the rights of the Sultan.

Grand Vizier promised to have Turkish translations of credentials at once submitted to Sultan, and to obtain me an audience as soon as possible.

My reception was most favourable, and, if it means anything, bodes well.

No. 28.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received by telegraph, August 22.)

(No. 5. Ext. 9.)

Therapia, August 22, 1885.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to report that I landed this morning at Therapia. This afternoon I called at the Porte, and, in the absence of Assim Pasha, I saw Fahri Bey, the Under-Secretary of State, with whom I left copy and translation of my credentials and of Her Majesty's message to the Sultan.

I afterwards called upon Saïd Pasha, the Grand Vizier, and upon Edhem Pasha, the Minister of the Interior.

The Grand Vizier expressed to me in the strongest manner the desire of the Sultan and His Majesty's Ministers to maintain and strengthen the ancient ties which have existed between Great Britain and Turkey. His Highness also made use of many courteous expressions in regard to your Lordship and myself.

I informed his Highness that the principal object of my mission was to combine the reorganization of Egypt with the recognition of the sovereign rights of His Majesty the Sultan.

The Grand Vizier promised to have my credentials translated into Turkish, to submit them to the Sultan without delay, and to obtain for me an audience of His Majesty as soon as possible.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. DRUMMOND WOLFF.

No. 29.

Mr. Egerton to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received by telegraph, August 23.)

(No. 618. Ext. 414.)

Cairo, August 23, 1885.

My Lord,

NUBAR PASHA sent me this morning the inclosed copies of two despatches from the Porte, and of the Khedive's answer, respecting the Havas telegrams of the 18th and 20th instant, stating that the Egyptian Government have proposed to put Egypt under English protection, but that the Ulemas object to allowing the rights of the Caliph to be thus tampered with.

As the publication of this false news was evidently made to create suspicions at the Porte simultaneous with Sir H. Drummond Wolff's visit to Constantinople, and to indispose the Sultan against both the Khedive and the British Government, Nubar Pasha has decided to withdraw the subvention previously given to the representative of this Agency in Cairo.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWIN H. EGERTON.

Inclosure in No. 29.

Correspondence between the Porte and Khedive respecting Havas Telegrams.

Dépêche de la Sublime Porte en date du 21 *Août*, 1885, *adressée à Son Altesse le Khédive.*

UNE dépêche de l'Agence Havas, datée de Paris, 18 Août, annonce que le Conseil des Ministres Égyptiens se montre désireux d'obtenir l'établissement du Protectorat de l'Angleterre, et que les Ulémas y sont opposés. Comme votre Altesse le sait, les nouvelles erronées publiées de temps à autre sur l'Égypte ont pour but politique de sonder la Sublime Porte et quelques autres Puissances, et de profiter de l'impression que ces nouvelles peuvent produire sur la population. La nouvelle insensée et inadmissible apportée par la dépêche Havas et l'idée prêtée au Conseil des Ministres Égyptiens peuvent être considérées comme ayant la même portée politique; cependant, d'ordre de Sa Majesté Impériale le Sultan, je m'adresse à votre Altesse d'une manière particulière pour avoir des renseignements précis.

Seconde Dépêche datée du 21 *Août*, 1885.

Comme suite à ma dépêche d'aujourd'hui je m'empresse de communiquer à votre Altesse le texte de la dépêche Havas arrivée de Paris sous la date du 20 Août :—

"Nubar Pacha encourage le pétitionnement pour obtenir le Protectorat de l'Angleterre; les Ulémas s'opposent à la signature de cette Pétition pour laisser intacts les droits du Calife, auxquels ce Protectorat porterait atteinte. Les manœuvres de Nubar Pacha sont secrètement encouragées à Londres."

Réponse de Son Altesse le Khédive en date du 22 *Août.*

J'ai reçu la dépêche que votre Altesse m'a fait l'honneur de m'adresser à la date du 21 Août. Cette nouvelle est comme toutes les autres lancées de temps en temps par des personnes intéressées dans un but évident de malveillance, dénuée de tout fondement. Je saisis l'occasion d'exprimer à votre Altesse mes sincères remerciements de n'avoir pas ajouté foi à ce racontar et d'avoir bien voulu se renseigner auprès de moi.

No. 30.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received August 23, 8·15 A.M.)

(No. 10.)
(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, August 23, 1885.

I AM told that the acceptance by us of a Turkish Commissioner for the reorganization of Egypt might [group omitted] Sultan not to insist on Turkish troops in Egypt proper. What I proposed was only Turkish Commissioner for negotiations in Soudan. Can you leave me discretion in the matter? Appointment would not require consent of Powers, and might facilitate whole negotiation. It might be only consultative, and we should have choice of individual. Might not Egerton be instructed to repeat to me all important telegrams sent to you?

No. 31.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received by telegraph, August 23.)

(No. 6. Ext. 10.)

Therapia, August 22, 1885.

My Lord,

WITH reference to my telegram of yesterday in regard to the appointment of a Turkish Commissioner for the negotiations with the Soudanese, I learn from a good source that, if the Commissioner had a voice in the negotiations for the reorganization

of Egypt, the Sultan might be induced to abandon the idea of sending Turkish troops to Egypt proper.

The appointment of a Commissioner would not require the consent of the Powers, and it might be the means of facilitating the whole course of the negotiations.

The Commissioner might only have a consultative voice, and Her Majesty's Government would be able to choose the individual.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. DRUMMOND WOLFF.

No. 32.

Mr. Egerton to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received August 23, 3·30 P.M.)

(No. 414.)
(Telegraphic.)
Cairo, August 23, 1885, 2·40 P.M.

NUBAR PASHA indignant at false news published by Havas, 18th and 20th, respecting meeting of Egyptian Ministers to discuss question of English Protectorate.

Representation from Porte to Khedive in consequence of these statements.

Publication evidently made to create suspicion at Porte simultaneous with Sir H. Wolff's visit to Constantinople.

Nubar Pasha has [?] from Havas agent here in consequence.

(Repeated to Wolff.)

No. 33.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir J. Walsham.

(No. 50.)
(Telegraphic.)
Foreign Office, August 24, 1885, 8 A.M.

INFORM M. de Ring that I am distressed to hear that the Havas Agency states that Egyptian Ministers have been summoned to discuss question of English Protectorate, and apparently imputes the suggestion to Her Majesty's Government. No such suggestion has been made by Her Majesty's Government to any one. Wolff's mission as far as regards the external relations of Egypt is directed mainly to obtaining Turkish military assistance in defending and organizing the parts of the Soudan contiguous to Egypt. I stated this to M. Waddington.

No. 34.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir J. Walsham.

(No. 716. Ext. 50.)
Foreign Office, August 24, 1885.

Sir,

I INSTRUCTED you to-day, by telegraph, to inform M. de Ring that I have seen, with great regret, a statement by the "Havas Agency" that the Egyptian Ministers have been summoned to discuss the question of an English Protectorate over Egypt, with an apparent imputation that the suggestion comes from Her Majesty's Government.

I have authorized you to state that no such suggestion has been made to any one by Her Majesty's Government, and to inform M. de Ring that the mission which has been intrusted to Sir H. D. Wolff, as far as it regards the external relations of Egypt, is directed mainly to obtaining from His Majesty the Sultan the military assistance of Turkey in defending and organizing the northern districts of the Soudan contiguous to Egypt.

I have already stated this in conversation to the French Ambassador here.

I am, &c.
(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 35.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir H. Drummond Wolff.

(No. 4.)
(Telegraphic.)
Foreign Office, August 24, 1885, 8 A.M.

YOUR telegram No. 10 of 22nd instant.

I leave Turkish Commissioner to your discretion.

Egerton has been instructed to send you important telegrams.

No. 36.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir H. Drummond Wolff.

(No. 8. Ext. 4.)
Foreign Office, August 24, 1885.

Sir,

WITH reference to your telegram No. 10 of yesterday's date, I informed you to-day by telegraph that I leave to your discretion the question of the appointment of a Turkish Commissioner to assist in the negotiations for the reorganization of Egypt.

I have instructed Mr. Egerton to repeat directly to you all important telegrams.

I am, &c.
(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 37.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir H. Drummond Wolff.

(No. 5.)
(Telegraphic.)
Foreign Office, August 24, 1885, 2·5 P.M.

YOURS No. 7 of 20th.

Vincent says that sum reserved to Egyptian Treasury from new loan must be kept for other purposes.

Amount provided for total Soudan expenditure in normal budget is 110,000*l.*, but of this it was calculated that 70,000*l.* or more might be available for subsidies for Chiefs on frontier. But exact amount would depend on expenditure at Suakin.

No. 38.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir H. Drummond Wolff.

(No. 10. Ext. 5.)
Foreign Office, August 24, 1885.

Sir,

WITH reference to your telegraphic despatch No. 7 of the 20th instant, inquiring whether there is any money remaining out of the new Egyptian loan, or otherwise obtainable from either English or Egyptian sources, by which the Arab Chiefs in the Soudan could be subsidized, I informed you to-day by telegraph that Mr. Vincent, who was consulted on the matter, states that the sum reserved for the Egyptian Treasury from the new loan must be kept for other purposes than that suggested by you.

The amount provided for the total expenditure in the Soudan in the normal Budget is 110,000*l.*; out of this total it was calculated that 70,000*l.*, or even more, might be available for providing subsidies to the Arab Chiefs in the neighbourhood of the frontier; but the exact amount to be devoted to this purpose will depend on the expenditure incurred at Suakin.

I am, &c.
(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 39.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received August 24, 7·45 P.M.)

(No. 12. Confidential.)
(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, August 24, 1885, 3·40 P.M.

ASSIM PASHA came here this morning from Constantinople to call, though it is his day of reception. He assured me of the desire both of the Sultan and the Grand Vizier to do all in their power to come to an understanding. I said that the object of your Lordship in sending me here was to demonstrate the desire both of Her Majesty and of Her Majesty's Government to consult in all matters appertaining to Egypt the views and rights of the Sultan. I was convinced that His Imperial Majesty and his Government reciprocate the good feelings of which I was the channel, that their desire was to maintain the ancient alliance between the two countries, and that with this reciprocity of good feeling as a frame, we might easily fill in the details of the picture. I pressed upon his Excellency very earnestly your Lordship's strong desire for an understanding with Turkey, and alleged in support of my declaration the policy pursued by you under Lord Beaconsfield's administration. Such an understanding must be productive of mutual advantages. I added that the intimacy in which we had lived together for so long at Philippopoli convinced me that I might speak to him on all subjects with the confidence of a friend, and that he would not [misconstrue?] what I said or allow it to be misconstrued by others.

His Excellency responded in the same tone. He said he was delighted by the terms of my credentials and of Her Majesty's gracious message, that the audience would be granted me very shortly, and that he would do all he could to advance the objects of my mission, as would also the Grand Vizier. He said that Turkey had had a good deal to put up with, but that he felt convinced we should find little difficulty in arriving at an arrangement.

I augur well from his visit. He is a very cautious and timid man, and I do not think he would have spoken as freely as he did without the authority of the Sultan and the Grand Vizier.

Talking of Italy, he said that Turkey objected to her establishment at Massowah. She had not behaved well about Assab when Turkey had made various concessions in her favour. He cautioned Her Majesty's Government against doing anything to extend the territory of Abyssinia. That country was not Roman Catholic, but inclined largely to the Orthodox Greek faith. Russia was sending her emissaries there as she did everywhere, and the extension of Abyssinia would tend to the advantage of Russia.

He also, uninvited, spoke of the Prince of Bulgaria in very high terms. He said he had done all he could to support him, and that he should be thoroughly supported, as with his departure Bulgaria would become entirely Russian.

I cannot exaggerate the cordiality of his tone and the good feeling with which he spoke, both on his own behalf and on that of his Sovereign and Government.

Expect Private and Secret telegram.

No. 40.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received by telegraph, August 24.)

(No. 7. Confidential. Ext. 12.)

Therapia, August 24, 1885.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that Assim Pasha, whom I missed yesterday at the Porte, came up to Therapia to see me this morning, although to-day is his day of reception. His Excellency assured me of the desire both of the Sultan and the Grand Vizier to do all in their power to come to an understanding with Her Majesty's Government.

I said that the object of my mission was to demonstrate the absolute desire both of the Queen and Her Majesty's Government to consult the views and the rights of the Sultan in all matters appertaining to Egypt. I stated that I was convinced that His Imperial Majesty and his Government reciprocate the good feelings of which I was the channel, and that it was their wish to maintain the ancient alliance between the two countries.

With this reciprocity of good feeling as a frame, we might easily fill in the details of the picture.

I laid great stress upon your Lordship's earnest desire for an understanding with Turkey, and in support of my declarations I reminded his Excellency of the policy pursued by you under Lord Beaconsfield's Administration. I added that such an understanding must be productive of mutual advantage to both countries.

The intimacy in which we had lived together for so many months at Philippopoli convinced me that I might speak to him on all subjects with the confidence of a friend, and that he would neither misinterpret my language himself nor allow it to be misconstrued by others.

His Excellency responded cordially, saying that he was delighted at the terms of my credentials and of Her Majesty's gracious message, that the audience would be granted me very shortly, and that the Grand Vizier as well as himself would do all in their power to further the objects of my mission. He said that Turkey had had a good deal to complain of, but that he felt convinced we should not find much difficulty in arriving at a satisfactory arrangement.

Speaking of Italy, he said that the Turkish Government objected to the establishment of her troops at Massowah. The Italians had not behaved well about Assab Bay, although Turkey had made several concessions in their favour. He referred to our dealings with the King of Abyssinia, and cautioned Her Majesty's Government against doing anything to extend his territory.

Abyssinia, he said, was not Roman Catholic; the people inclined largely to the Orthodox Greek Church; and the extension of Abyssinia would tend to the advantage of Russia, who was sending emissaries there, as she did everywhere. Assim Pasha, without any encouragement on my part, proceeded to speak of the Prince of Bulgaria, whom he praised in the highest terms. He said that he had done all he could to support the Prince, and that it was most desirable that he should be thoroughly supported, because Bulgaria would fall entirely under the control of Russia if His Highness were to leave the country.

I augur well from Assim Pasha's visit. His Excellency is a very cautious man, and would not have spoken so freely unless he had the authority of the Sultan and the Grand Vizier. Nothing could exceed the cordiality of his tone and the good feeling which he evinced both on his own behalf and on the behalf of the Sultan and His Majesty's Government.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. DRUMMOND WOLFF.

No. 41.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received August 25.)

(No. 13.)
(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, August 24, 1885.

NOTE from Assim Pasha says I am to have audience Wednesday or Thursday.

Count Corti and the American Minister, who has been here a month, are to be received to-morrow.

A Council was held yesterday on the subject of my mission, and great pleasure was expressed at the terms of Her Majesty's message.

No. 42.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received August 25, 3 P.M.)

(No. 14. Confidential.)
(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, August 25, 1885, noon.

FAKRI BEY, Under-Secretary, has just called on me. He declares himself strongly a partizan of an alliance with us, and has given me what appears to be disinterested advice. He begs me to make friends with the Grand Vizier, as a mode of establishing confidence. He says the Sultan has got a fixed idea in his head that England wants to take possession of Egypt, and on this account Hassan Fehmi was instructed to ask for a definite term for the occupation. If this could be given, everything else would go smoothly; but if this could not be done, he suggests

making some proposal which would furnish material proof that the occupation by us is not to be eternal.

I am writing on the spur of the moment, as I have to call on the Diplomatic Body, but I will think over what proposal can be made.

Perhaps, on your side, you would consider the possibility of having some proposal which would carry out this idea.

I think it would be well if you could assure Austria and Germany that my mission is connected with Egypt, and nothing else.

By Fakri Bey's visit I have [? lost] the post.

No. 43.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received by telegraph, August 25.)

(No. 8. Ext. 14.)

Therapia, August 25, 1885.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that in the course of a conversation I held with Fahri Bey, Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, who called upon me to-day, his Excellency declared himself strongly a partizan of an alliance with England, and he gave me what appeared to me to be disinterested advice.

Fahri Bey begged me to make friends with Saïd Pasha, the Grand Vizier, as a mode of establishing confidence. He informed me that the Sultan has a fixed idea in his head that England wants to take possession of Egypt, and on this account Hassan Fehmi was instructed to ask for a definite term to be fixed for the occupation of Egypt by British troops. If this could be given, everything else would go smoothly, but, if this is impossible, Fahri Bey suggests that we should make some proposal which would furnish material proof that our occupation of Egypt is not to be everlasting.

As I have to call on the Diplomatic Corps, I am writing now on the spur of the moment, but I will consider what proposal could be made. Perhaps your Lordship would consider the possibility of framing some proposal which would carry out this idea.

An assurance made by you to Austria and Germany that my mission is connected with Egypt and nothing else would be well.

I regret that Fahri Bey's visit has caused me to miss the post.

I have, &c.

(Signed) H. DRUMMOND WOLFF.

No. 44.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received August 26.)

(No. 2.)

Pesth, August 16, 1885.

My Lord,

I HAVE already informed your Lordship by telegraph of my arrival at and departure from Vienna.

I was unable to see either Sir Augustus Paget or Count Kálnoky, both being absent. The former was keeping an old engagement in Styria, but he kindly offered to return if I wished it. Count Kálnoky had gone to pay a visit to Prince Bismarck, but he left some courteous messages of regret with M. Szögyeni and M. Pasetti, the two Under-Secretaries of State, whom I saw, the former more than once. I also saw M. de Kállay, the Imperial Minister of Finance, whose principal duty is the administration of Bosnia and Herzegovina on behalf of the joint Government under which the provinces are specially placed. He, as your Lordship is aware, was my colleague on the Eastern Roumelian Commission. At a dinner, to which he was good enough to invite me to meet the two gentlemen above mentioned, I had a long conversation on the subject of Egypt.

All these gentlemen were full of assurances on the part of their Government of the friendliest support to Her Majesty's Government in any efforts to remedy the present unfortunate state of affairs in Egypt, and both M. de Kállay and M. Szögyeni gave the most solemn pledge that nothing we could do in Egypt would induce Austria to transgress the limits of Bosnia or to interfere in any way with the rights of the Sultan in Macedonia.

I mention this circumstance as I find that the supposed designs of Austria on Ottoman territory are at present the cause of grave suspicion to the Porte. On this account I am rather glad of the absence of Sir Augustus Paget and of Count Kálnoky during my visit to Vienna. It enabled the Austrian Government, in a *communiqué* in the "Fremdenblatt," to allude to the absence of Sir Augustus Paget as a proof that I was charged with no official mission, an impression which I also endeavoured to convey to Sadoullah Pasha, the Turkish Ambassador, who called on me. In fact, Nasri Bey, the First Secretary of the Turkish Embassy, expressed to an acquaintance of mine his satisfaction that my visit to Vienna was not official, as otherwise it would have raised some susceptibilities at Constantinople.

Sadoullah Pasha assured me of a cordial reception at Constantinople, an assurance confirmed more than once by M. Szögyeni, who also informed me that Baron Calice had been instructed to give me a strong support.

M. Szögyeni I had known some years ago at Pesth. He is the intimate friend of M. de Kállay, with whom he was associated for several years in the Hungarian Parliament, and, on the appointment of the latter as Imperial Minister of Finance, succeeded him as Chef de Section or Under-Secretary of State at the Foreign Office, with the special function of representing that Department in the Delegations.

My conversation with these two gentlemen and with M. Pasetti, the Austrian Under-Secretary, confirms me in the view I have held for some time that, in regard to Eastern matters, Germany relies for guidance almost, if not entirely, upon Austria. These gentlemen promised me the support of Germany and Austria in the same breath, and as though their assurances were sufficient on behalf of both countries. They were very anxious to know what were the proposals of Her Majesty's Government with regard to Egypt, and they begged me to urge on your Lordship that these should be communicated to them with the least possible delay. Nothing could exceed their friendliness and cordiality. What Germany and Austria require in Egypt, they said, was the establishment of a good administration. "We wish you to do it," they said emphatically; "if you do not, some other nation certainly will," evidently alluding to Germany.

They went so far as to say that with an extension of the Mixed Tribunals they would not object to the abolition of the Capitulations, and they incidentally mentioned the employment of Turkish troops. Side by side with this there is a circumstance which, though not of much importance, is worth noticing.

Shortly before my departure from London I saw Sir Rivers Wilson, who had just returned from Paris, where he had been for a meeting of the Suez Canal Directors. He said that M. de Lesseps had been in a most excited state, declaring that the policy of Her Majesty's Government was to destroy the civilization of Egypt and to restore the régime of the Mamelukes, adding that, although himself a man of peace, he should be the first to propose a war between the two countries.

On my arrival at this town I find that, on the occasion of an Exhibition now proceeding, M. de Lesseps and a number of French artists and men of letters, conducted by the French Ambassador, had arrived as a deputation to Pesth. On the 12th these gentlemen, in evening clothes, bore on their shoulders an enormous wreath covered with the French colours and French inscriptions, and deposited it on the statue of a M. Petöfy, who I understand was a patriotic Hungarian poet. M. de Lesseps made a speech expressing admiration for Hungary and her poet, sensational poems were read, and the National Hymn of Hungary, together with the "Marseillaise," were played, amidst "un enthousiasme indescriptible." In ordinary times these manifestations would not be of much importance; but the presence of M. de Lesseps, the recollection of his well-known methods, his declarations to Sir Rivers Wilson, and the emphatic warnings of my Hungarian acquaintances, may perhaps show that it is possible for the French Government to be carried further than they intend in their Eastern policy.

I also saw Prince Lobanow at Vienna. My conversation with him was not of much importance, but he told me that he had learnt from M. Szögyeni that my visit was without any official character.

I have, &c.

(Signed) H. DRUMMOND WOLFF.

No. 45.

Sir A. Paget to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received August 26.)

(No. 222. Most Confidential.)

Vienna, August 21, 1885.

My Lord,

WITH reference to my despatch No. 218, Confidential, of the 20th instant, I have the honour to inform your Lordship that I had to-day some further conversation with Count Kálnoky on the subject of the proposals contained in your Lordship's Confidential telegram No. 25 of the 18th instant for the employment of Turkish contingents at Suakin and on the Nile at the southern frontiers of Egypt proper, and that his Excellency promised that he would send instructions to Baron Calice, the Austrian Ambassador at Constantinople, by next Friday's messenger—the 28th instant—to place himself in communication with Sir Henry Drummond Wolff, with the view of rendering him assistance in his negotiations with the Porte on this subject. Count Kálnoky said that he would in the meantime prepare Baron Calice, by telegraph, for the receipt of these instructions.

I expressed to Count Kálnoky my best thanks for this intended friendly action.

I have, &c.

(Signed) A PAGET.

No. 46.

Sir J. Walsham to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received August 26.)

(No. 550. Confidential.)

Paris, August 24, 1885.

My Lord,

IN obedience to your Lordship's telegraphic instructions of this morning, I called upon Baron de Ring, and expressed to him the regret which had been felt by your Lordship at hearing that in the "Agence Havas" a statement had been made to the effect that the Egyptian Ministers had been summoned for the purpose of discussing the question of an English Protectorate, and that apparently the suggestion was attributed to Her Majesty's Government in the "Agence."

I explained that Her Majesty's Government had made no such suggestion to anybody, and that, as your Lordship had already had occasion to assure M. Waddington, Sir Drummond Wolff's mission, as far as the external relations of Egypt were concerned, is directed mainly to obtaining military assistance for the defence and organization of such parts of the Soudan as are contiguous to Egypt.

Baron de Ring asked me to convey to your Lordship his thanks for the communication I had been instructed to make to the French Government, and said he would be obliged to me if I would let him have a Memorandum of my statement, in order that he might forward it to M. de Freycinet. I therefore, on returning to the Embassy, prepared and forwarded to him, privately, the confidential statement of which a copy is inclosed.

With regard to the proposed plan of employing regular Turkish troops outside the limits of Egypt proper, M. de Ring remarked that he would not venture to offer an opinion as to whether it would be regarded by the French Government as advantageous or not, but he could not help feeling and hoping that in regard to the idea of employing Turkish troops, as such, in Egypt itself, there would not be found to be any great divergence in the views of the two Governments.

So far from objecting to their employment, the French Government would be in favour of the plan so long as completely-formed battalions of the actual Turkish army, with their officers, were not transferred to Egypt. The ground on which this latter plan would be regarded by the French Government as open to objection was not because the troops would be Turkish, but because, little by little, the Khedivial army would in reality come almost necessarily under the direct orders and control of the Sultan, the Khedive himself having merely nominal authority over his troops, whereas, from the French point of view, His Highness should unquestionably not be a mere cypher in the matter.

There were, Baron de Ring went on to say, excellent Turkish officers on half-pay who would be only too glad of employment, and first-rate troops could be recruited in the Turkish provinces, so that the nucleus of a Mussulman force was, so to speak,

ready at hand, and might be of invaluable service in the formation of the new Egyptian army.

As I knew from your Lordship's despatch No. 696 of the 7th instant the language you had held to M. Waddington on this point, I mentioned that, although Her Majesty's Government saw no objection to the assistance of Turkish troops in maintaining order in Egypt itself, they were aware of the objection entertained by the French Government, and had not, therefore, insisted upon their own view of the case. Baron de Ring's manner certainly left me with the impression—possibly a mistaken one—that there was a desire on the part of the French Government to act in a less unfriendly spirit towards England in respect to Egypt if they saw their way to doing so.

I have, &c.

(Signed) JOHN WALSHAM.

Inclosure in No. 46.

Memorandum.

(Confidential.)

THE Marquis of Salisbury has heard with great regret that a statement has been made in the "Agence Havas" to the effect that the members of the Egyptian Ministry had been summoned for the purpose of discussing the question of a British Protectorate, and the suggestion is apparently imputed in the "Agence" to Her Majesty's Government, whereas to no one have Her Majesty's Government made any such suggestion.

As Lord Salisbury has already had occasion to explain to the French Ambassador, the main object of Sir D. Wolff's mission, as far as the external relations of Egypt are concerned, is to obtain Turkish military aid for the defence and organization of the parts of the Soudan bordering on Egypt.

Paris, August 24, 1885.

No. 47.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received August 26.)

(No. 15.)

(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, August 25, 1885.

TO-DAY as I was leaving to pay my visits the Grand Vizier called. He stayed with me more than an hour, and was most friendly and reassuring. After him Edhem Pasha called with same expressions.

Later, Austrian Ambassador told me that Austria was always pleased to assist in promoting a good understanding between England and Turkey, and he looked on the circumstance of my being accredited to the Sultan as of itself being a step that would please his Government. He had learnt this morning from his Government of a confidential communication made by your Lordship, and, though he had not received precise instructions, he was directed to do everything to promote the understanding between English and Turkish Governments.

Russian Ambassador was most friendly in manner, and said his Government would certainly do nothing to prevent solution of the Egyptian complications.

French Ambassador said what he thought the right policy would be to establish the régime of the Treaties as it existed before the Condominium, recognizing the rights of the Sultan, but at the same time establishing a state of things which was practically, though tacitly, neutralization of Egypt, while the finances should be under the joint control of England and France, who alone were interested in the question.

I have thought it best all through to avoid either raising or discussing any contentious question, but have all through proclaimed that I was charged with no mission of any kind except in regard to Egyptian affairs. I also said that Her Majesty's Government were bent on observing the stipulations of the Treaties.

All the Ambassadors most civil in their assurances.

No. 48.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received by telegraph, August 26.)

(No. 9. Ext. 15.)

Therapia, August 25, 1885.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that as I was leaving to pay visits to the Corps Diplomatique the Grand Vizier called upon me. Our conversation lasted for more than an hour, and he was most friendly and reassuring. Immediately after the conclusion of the Grand Vizier's visit Edhem Pasha called upon me, and used the same friendly expressions.

Later in the afternoon the Austrian Ambassador told me that Austria was always pleased to assist in promoting a good understanding between England and Turkey, and his Excellency further informed me that he looked upon the fact of my being accredited to the Sultan as being of itself a step which would please his Government. He stated that he had learnt this morning from his Government of a confidential communication made by your Lordship, and though he had not received precise instructions, he was directed to do everything to promote the understanding between the English and Turkish Governments.

The Russian Ambassador was most friendly in manner, and said that his Government would certainly do nothing to prevent the solution of the Egyptian difficulty.

The French Ambassador said that he thought the right policy would be to establish the régime of the Treaties as it existed before the *condominium*, recognizing the rights of the Sultan, but at the same time establishing a state of things which was practically, though tacitly, the neutralization of Egypt, while the finances should be under the joint control of England and France, who alone were interested in the question.

I have considered it best all through to avoid either raising or discussing any contentious question, and I have proclaimed that I am charged with no mission of any kind except in regard to Egyptian affairs.

I added that Her Majesty's Government were bent on observing the stipulations of Treaties. All the Ambassadors were most civil in their assurances.

I have, &c.

(Signed) H. DRUMMOND WOLFF.

No. 49.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received August 26.)

(No. 16.)
(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, August 25, 1885.

IS there any truth in telegram, dated Cairo, saying that some of our troops are to be withdrawn? If so, in regard to news just telegraphed by Egerton, would not this be very unwise, and should not troops on the frontier, on the contrary, be reinforced so as to act promptly and prevent Soudanese from invading Egyptian territory?

No. 50.

Sir W. White to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received August 26, 1·30 P.M.)

(No. 113.)
(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, August 26, 1885, *noon.*

ACCORDING to my information, the Central Empires will by no means impede our negotiations at Constantinople; they will profess a friendly disposition, and even encourage Porte to go on with them, without, however, being committed to an approbation of any particular point, and reserving to themselves—or, rather, to Europe—the last word.

No. 51.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received August 26, 8 P.M.)

(No. 17.)
(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, August 26, 1885, 3·35 P.M.

JUST before departure of French Ambassador, Russian Ambassador called. With many apologies, he cross-examined me as to my mission. Seeing that he was very anxious for information, I thought it best to be explicit, and I told him that we had no idea either of an annexation or of a Protectorate; our only object was to create a stable state of things in Egypt, which should enable it to arrange its own affairs, and that we intended to observe all our international obligations. He asked me whether the question of the Soudan was not removed by the death of the Mahdi, and I replied that this was not the case, as troubles still existed on the frontiers. I went on to say that it was our earnest desire to act in unison with the Powers.

He touched on possible intervention of Turkish troops as being against the provisions of the Treaties, but I did not enter into this part of the question. He asked me whether we intended to reconquer the Soudan, to which I answered in the negative; but there must be an occupation of Suakin and the frontiers, both for the protection of Egypt, the prevention of the Slave Trade, and of the extension of the rebellion to the sea-coast.

He thanked me very much for being frank with him, and promised to give me as much assistance as he could, and begged me not to believe any stories I might hear of attempts on his part to obstruct the objects of my mission. I told him that my being accredited to the Sultan was a distinct proof of the desire of Her Majesty's Government to recognize the rights of the Sultan—a consideration by which I, perhaps, laid more store than he did. Of these, he said, within the conditions of Treaty, he was, perhaps, more jealous than myself.

He seemed very excited in his conversation, but expressed himself most amicably, and I fancy was relieved at having something to communicate to his Government.

I also repeated to him, in the most positive manner, that I had no duties outside the Egyptian question. This I did, as reports to the contrary have been mischievous.

No. 52.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received by telegraph, August 26.)

(No. 10. Ext. 17.)

Therapia, August 26, 1885.

My Lord,

THE French Ambassador returned my visit this morning. Just before his departure the Russian Ambassador called, and, with many apologies, commenced to cross-examine me as to the objects of my mission.

Seeing that his Excellency was very anxious to obtain some information, I thought it best to be explicit, and I told him at once that Her Majesty's Government had no idea of annexing Egypt or of establishing a Protectorate. Their sole object was to create a stable state of things in the country which should enable the Government to manage its own affairs. I added that Her Majesty's Government would not fail to observe all their international obligations.

His Excellency inquired whether the question of the Soudan was not settled, owing to the death of the Mahdi, and I replied that unfortunately troubles still existed on the frontiers of Egypt

With regard to the possible intervention of Turkish troops, his Excellency considered that it would be contrary to the provisions of the existing Treaties, but I refrained from discussing this part of the question.

I told him that we did not intend to reconquer the Soudan, but that it was necessary to occupy Suakin and the frontiers of Egypt proper, in order to protect the country from the incursions of the Soudanese, to prevent the spread of the rebellion to the sea-coast, and to stop the Slave Trade.

His Excellency thanked me very much for being frank with him, and promised to render me as much assistance as he could, begging me at the same time not to believe any stories which I might hear of attempts on his part to frustrate the objects of my mission.

I remarked to his Excellency that the fact of my being accredited to the Sultan was a distinct proof that Her Majesty's Government desired to recognize the sovereign rights of His Majesty.

I said that perhaps I laid more store upon this consideration than he did; but he answered that, within the conditions of Treaties, he was perhaps more jealous of the Sultan's rights than I was myself.

I made a point of repeating to his Excellency, in the most positive manner, that I had no mission except in regard to Egyptian affairs. I made this declaration because there have been reports to the contrary which might have a mischievous effect.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. DRUMMOND WOLFF.

No. 53.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir H. Drummond Wolff.

(No. 7.)
(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, August* 28, 1885, 1·35 P.M.

YOUR No. 16 of 25th.

Only so much of the British force in Egypt is being withdrawn as is not wanted for Egyptian purposes. A certain number of regiments were kept on after termination of expedition with a view to war in Afghanistan, and these are being brought home.

No. 54.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir H. Drummond Wolff.

(No. 11. Ext. 7.)
Foreign Office, August 28, 1885.

Sir,

WITH reference to your despatch No. 16 of the 25th instant, respecting the withdrawal of Her Majesty's troops from Egypt, I informed you to-day, by telegraph, that only so much of the British force in that country is being withdrawn as is not required for Egyptian purposes. After the termination of the Nile expedition a certain number of regiments were retained in the country, with a view to a possible outbreak of hostilities in Afghanistan, and these are now being brought home.

I am, &c.
(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 55.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received August 28, 2·30 P.M.)

(Private and Secret.)
(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, August* 28, 1885.

A MESSAGE has been sent to me from a well-informed source that Sultan will insist on term being fixed for evacuation, in which case, if granted, he will be yielding on other points, otherwise he will be dragging on negotiations till after elections. Meanwhile, it appears to me very unfortunate that troops are to be withdrawn on a considerable scale from Egypt, and I should be glad if it were stopped. Prolongation of withdrawal might be made an important point in the negotiation, the diminution of our forces by a fixed number being offered as an earnest and guarantee of our intention ultimately to evacuate. This can hardly be done with a reduced force.

Mr. Egerton telegraphs that four battalions, with artillery and engineers, were under orders to leave, that they were then detained, but are now again to leave immediately, some having already done so.

Please let me have early answer to this.

No. 56.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir H. Drummond Wolff.

(No. 8.)
(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, August* 28, 1885, 3 P.M.

IN conversation with British Chargé d'Affaires at Paris Baron de Ring has stated that French Government would be in favour of employing Turkish troops in Egypt

proper, so long as completely-formed battalions of actual Turkish army, with their officers, were not transferred there. They would object to this latter measure because by degrees Egyptian army would thus come under direct orders and control of Sultan, and Khedive's authority become nominal.

Baron de Ring said there were excellent Turkish officers on half-pay available, and troops might be recruited in Turkish provinces.

No. 57.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received August 28, 6·30 P.M.)

(Private.)
(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, August* 28, 1885.

I HAVE telegraphed to Egerton to try and obtain postponement of withdrawal of troops till Government sends further instructions. Could you delay their departure, at all events till messenger arrives?

Despatch secretly obtained addressed to Porte by Turkish Ambassador at Berlin represents Count Hatzfeldt as advising the Porte to drag on all arrangements with me, as he believes the Government will be beaten at the elections, and no arrangement can be entered into separately between England and Turkey.

Any further withdrawal of troops, under these circumstances, is most undesirable. White thinks, and other circumstances substantiate the same conclusion, that Germany desires a fresh Conference on Egyptian affairs.

No. 58.

Sir J. Walsham to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received August 29.)

(No. 557.)
Paris, August 27, 1885.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to transmit to your Lordship a copy of a note which I have received from M. de Freycinet, Minister for Foreign Affairs, in reference to the communication I made to Baron de Ring, as reported in my No. 550 of the 24th instant, upon the subject of the erroneous statement published by the "Agence Havas" with regard to a British Protectorate in Egypt in connection with a supposed suggestion of Her Majesty's Government.

M. de Freycinet begs that his thanks may be conveyed to your Lordship for the expression of your regret at the publication of this statement, and his Excellency sees in the communication I was instructed to make to the French Government a proof of the loyal intention of Her Majesty's Government not to alter the régime established in Egypt by Treaties.

I have, &c.
(Signed) JOHN WALSHAM.

Inclosure in No. 58.

M. de Freycinet to Sir J. Walsham.

M. le Ministre,
Vevey, le 26 *Août*, 1885.

M. LE Directeur des Affaires Politiques de mon Département m'a rendu compte de la visite au cours de laquelle vous avez bien voulu lui donner connaissance d'un télégramme du Marquis de Salisbury sur les affaires d'Égypte. M. le Baron de Ring m'a aussi envoyé copie de l'aide-mémoire que vous lui avez fait parvenir sur le même sujet.

Je vous prie de transmettre au Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Britannique mes remerciements pour ces communications qui témoignent de la loyale intention de ne point altérer le régime établi en Égypte par les Traités.

Agréez, &c.
(Signé) C. DE FREYCINET.

No. 59.

Sir E. Malet to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received August 29, 4·40 P.M.)

(No. 61. Confidential.)
(Telegraphic.)

Berlin, August 29, 1885.

YOUR Lordship's telegram No. 67 of the 18th instant.

Count Bismarck said to me to-day that the Chancellor thanked your Lordship for the communication respecting Egypt. To say that he concurred would only be to renew the expression of the opinion he had always entertained and expressed, that the Egyptian difficulties could only be met by working with the Sultan. The Prince begs your Lordship to be assured that the policy now indicated will meet with no impediment from him.

The Prince added that, to his mind, the important point was to get Turkish troops into Egypt, and to leave the question of their withdrawal to ulterior negotiation, as he doubted the possibility of the Sultan accepting the proposition as it stands.

No. 60.

Sir E. Malet to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received August 29.)

(No. 380. Confidential. Ext. 61.)

Berlin, August 29, 1885.

My Lord,

IN a conversation which I held to-day with Count Bismarck on the subject of your Lordship's telegram No. 67 of the 18th instant, his Excellency said that the Chancellor wished his thanks to be conveyed to your Lordship for the communication in regard to Egypt. In saying that he concurred, the Chancellor would merely be renewing the expression of the opinion he had always held, that the difficulties in Egypt could only be met by acting with the Sultan.

The Prince wished to assure your Lordship that no impediment will be raised by him to the policy now indicated.

He had added that, to his mind, to get Turkish troops into Egypt was the principal point. The question of their ultimate withdrawal might, he thought, be left for negotiations to take place at a later date, as he was doubtful whether the Sultan could accept the proposition as it stood.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWARD B. MALET.

No. 61.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received August 30.)

(No. 18.)
(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, August 29, 1885, 7 P.M.

TO-DAY had audience of the Sultan. His Majesty expressed himself most gratified at Her Majesty's message. He was sure Her Majesty respected his rights as Sovereign of Egypt. He took a very great interest in the affairs of Egypt, and in a few days would appoint some person or persons to discuss them with me. He has appointed to-morrow for a private audience.

This morning Mr. Foster, Governor of the Ottoman Bank, breakfasted at the Palace, and I had previously given him an outline of what is required. He was told that the Sultan himself had no objection to dispatch of Ottoman troops to Egypt, but he must consult his friends as to the bearing his so doing would have on his position as an Ottoman Sovereign. He wishes to discuss matter with me, and to make certain suggestions which I may submit to the consideration of Her Majesty.

No. 62.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received August 31.)

(No. 19?.)
(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, August 30, 1885, 11·40 P.M.

HAVE just returned from Palace, where I passed five hours, nearly three of which with the Sultan.

I spoke to His Imperial Majesty on the lines of your Lordship's instructions, confining myself to generalities, not wishing to enter into details till negotiations begin. His Imperial Majesty spoke in very flattering terms of your Lordship and myself, and expressed himself anxious that negotiations should begin on Tuesday. For this purpose the Delegates will be named to-morrow, and the discussion will begin on Tuesday at the Porte. To expedite matters, His Imperial Majesty gives me the use of one of his steam-launches. I shall be at Pera, at all events, till Wednesday.

No. 63.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir H. Drummond Wolff.

(No. 9.)
(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, August 31, 1885, 3·30 P.M.

YOUR telegram No. 16 of 26th.

Secretary of State for War objects to recalling orders for withdrawal of troops from Egypt, which were issued a long time ago, and are probably carried out by this time.

Force remaining is, in opinion of General, amply sufficient to hold the country.

Lord Wolseley's proposals for further reduction have been sent to General for report, but nothing will be done on them without instructions.

No. 64.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir H. Drummond Wolff.

(No. 12. Ext. 9.)

Foreign Office, August 31, 1885.

Sir,

WITH reference to your telegram No. 16 of the 25th instant and to my immediately preceding despatch of the 28th instant, I informed you, by telegraph, to-day that the Secretary of State for War objects to recalling the orders which were issued by the War Department some time back, and are probably carried out by this time, for the recall of a portion of Her Majesty's troops from Egypt; and I stated that, in the opinion of the General in command, the force remaining in Egypt is amply sufficient to hold the country.

General Lord Wolseley's proposals for a further reduction of the British forces in the Nile Valley have been forwarded to the General in command for his report, but no steps will be taken on them without further instructions from home.

I am, &c.
(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 65.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir H. Drummond Wolff.

(No. 10.)
(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, August 31, 1885, 4·30 P.M.

FOLLOWING has come from Sir E. Malet:—

[See Sir E. Malet, No. 61, 29th August: *ante*, No. 59.]

I would so far act on this suggestion that I would not shut the door to negotiations on the question of Turkish withdrawal if Sultan makes a point of it. But the difficulties from France, from the Khedive, and from English opinion would evidently be considerable.

No. 66.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir H. Drummond Wolff.

(No. 13. Ext. 10.)

Foreign Office, August 31, 1885.

Sir,

COUNT HERBERT BISMARCK has requested Her Majesty's Ambassador at Berlin to convey to me Prince Bismarck's thanks for the communication which I had instructed his Excellency to make on the subject of obtaining the co-operation of the Sultan in restoring order in Egypt.

Count H. Bismarck continued that to say that his father concurred would only be to renew the expression of the opinion the Chancellor had always entertained and expressed, viz., that the difficulties in Egypt could only be met by working with the Sultan.

Count Herbert added the Prince's assurances that the policy indicated by Her Majesty's Government would meet with no opposition from Germany, and that, in his Serene Highness' opinion, the important point was to induce the Sultan to send Turkish troops into Egypt, leaving the question of their ultimate withdrawal for future negotiation, as he doubted whether His Imperial Majesty could accept the proposition as it now stands.

I instructed you to-day, by telegraph, to act so far on this suggestion as to leave the door open for further negotiations on the subject of the withdrawal of the Turkish troops, in the event of the Sultan laying stress on this point, but at the same time to bear in mind that the difficulties from France, from the Khedive, and from English public opinion on this matter would evidently be considerable.

I am, &c.

(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 67.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received September 1, 8 A.M.)

(No. 20.)
(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, August 31, 1885, 10·30 P.M.

YOUR telegram No. 9.

[? Wholesale] withdrawal of troops at this moment will seriously interfere with negotiations here. It is not a military but a political question, of which War Office is unable to judge.

No. 68.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received September 1, 1·30 P.M.)

(No. 21.)
(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, September 1, 1885, 10·48 A.M.

YOUR telegram No. 10, Confidential.

May I venture so far as to tell Turkish negotiators that Prince Bismarck approves of basis of my negotiations? Could not the Prince be induced to give some more satisfactory instructions here whereby German Chargé d'Affaires could say something favourable to the Porte? At this moment a sign of approval, however small, from the German Embassy, would be invaluable.

Owing to fête-day yesterday, first meeting with negotiators, to be to-day, is fixed for to-morrow.

Difficulty at present is not of getting Turkish troops out of Egypt, but of getting them there. They are now in long arrears of pay, and some pecuniary assistance is absolutely essential. The annual cost of a Turkish battalion is about 40,000 Turkish pounds. If left in Egypt without pay they would plunder population, and great scandals would ensue. We should require at least four battalions. Could not we, by withdrawing an equal number, hand over to the Turks a portion of the money set aside for the Army of Occupation? This is one of my chief reasons for objecting to withdrawal of any of our troops from Egypt until we have settled with Sultan. I will write fully on this by messenger.

No. 69.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received September 1.)

(No. 22.)
(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, September 1, 1885, 6 P.M.

THIS morning at the Porte Grand Vizier informed me that he had reason to believe that Germany approved the objects of my mission, and that similar assurances had been given him by the Austrian Ambassador. His Highness hopes for an early settlement.

No. 70.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received by telegraph, September 1.)

(No. 17. Confidential. Ext. 22.)

Pera, September 1, 1885.

My Lord,

AT an interview which I had this morning with the Grand Vizier at the Porte his Highness informed me that he had reason to believe that the objects of my mission were approved by Germany. The Austrian Ambassador had given him similar assurances.

His Highness added that he hoped to arrive at an early settlement of the questions at issue.

I have, &c.

(Signed) H. DRUMMOND WOLFF.

No. 71.

Sir H. Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received September 2.)

(No. 11.)

Therapia, August 23, 1885.

My Lord,

TO the other difficulties surrounding the so-called Egyptian question, must be added that of the new Pan-Islamic movement, which has taken possession of large numbers of those professing the Mussulman religion. The chief professors and disciples of this movement are to be found amongst the Arab tribes. With it originated the revolt of Arabi and the power of the (so-called) Mahdi, and in its mixture of political and religious motives, and its form of organization, it much resembles the Pan-Slavonic agitation which of late years has so dangerously threatened the public peace.

As the Czar is coerced by the Panslavic Secret Societies, so is the Sultan forced to reckon with the Secret Societies of Pan-Islamism; and I am told that amongst the most constant frequenters of the Palace are to be found Arab Sheikhs, emissaries of the Societies, who control currents of opinion which the Sultan cannot entirely resist. In fact, there is, I am told, an Islamic Committee permanently sitting at the Palace, the heads of which are the Sheikhs Achmet Essad and Zuffar, who are in communication with the El Azhar Mosque at Cairo, which is a very powerful body, and has been described to me as the Jesuit College of Islam. Besides this, there are numerous Arab and Egyptian dependents of the Palace now forming a very formidable influence.

We shall have great difficulty in dealing with this new force, and more especially with reference to the future organization of the Soudan. The action of Her Majesty's late Government against Arabi and against the Mahdi created on the part of the Societies feelings of the most active enmity. These have been modified, if not completely changed, by the recent action of Russia, and by the conviction entertained by the Societies that Her Majesty's Government have no feelings of hostility to the Mahommedan creed. In fact, the aim of some of the present leaders of the Societies is the formation of a League against Russia, to consist of England, Turkey, Persia, and Afghanistan. In so far the Societies are favourable, and they are also inclined to assist us in the pacification of the Soudan, in the establishment in that country of a settled form of Government, and in persuading the Sultan to act with us cordially in Egypt proper. But here comes the great difficulty of the situation. While the Societies are willing to maintain the sovereign rights of the Sultan in Egypt and peace

in the Soudan, they repudiate the Caliphate of the Sultan in the latter country. There they wish to establish an Empire founded on the revelations of the Mahdi, an Empire of pure Islamism, friendly to the Sultan, and living with him on terms of brotherhood and equality, but recognizing in him no spiritual superiority. They say that the Empire of Morocco exists as a Mahommedan State on perfectly good terms with the Sultan, but recognizing in him no Caliphate, and they wish to obtain the same temporal and spiritual independence for the Soudan.

As I have already pointed out, the Sultan is, I understand, fully alive to the realities of this situation. It is a grave difficulty for him, as it is for us; and from his communication with Arab Sheikhs, I gather that he is probably endeavouring to meet it.

I believe many of the complications which have arisen in Egypt were caused by the resolution, adopted at the time by those in power, of treating the movement of Arabi as a merely local revolt, headed by a vulgar or mercenary adventurer. The same cry was raised, in my memory, perhaps with the same justice, against Kossuth, Garibaldi, and other popular figures in revolutionary history; but, in my experience, which has chiefly been in revolutionary countries, no agitator can manufacture a national movement unless there be a substratum, however much it may have been previously concealed and dormant, of national feeling. When I was in Constantinople in 1878-79, deputations came from Mussulman communities in India and elsewhere to congratulate Ghazi Osman Pasha, as a Mussulman hero, on his defence of Plevna, and at this moment emissaries are interchanged through the Mussulman communities of the world.

With these circumstances in view, I have ventured to suggest to your Lordship that the Sultan should be invited to send a Commissioner with me to enter into negotiations with the Soudanese Chiefs. I have no doubt that a negotiation might be carried on by us alone which might end in the pacification of the Soudan; but such a settlement would be arrived at without any reference to the Caliphate, for which we could not stipulate with any more reason than a Turkish Representative could stipulate for the recognition of the spiritual supremacy of the Pope.

I have brought forward this subject in conversation with Assim Pasha, and shall do so with the Grand Vizier. It is, as your Lordship will perceive, touching on very delicate ground; but, in case of necessity, it will furnish, I think, a cogent argument.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. DRUMMOND WOLFF.

No. 72.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received September 2, 3·15 P.M.)

Constantinople, September 2, 1885, 1·15 P.M.

(Telegraphic.)

I HEAR disinclination of Sultan to send troops to Egypt is for fear of collision with the Arab party at Cairo, who, while recognizing his Caliphate, dislike the Turkish race. It appears that the Sultan informed Prince Bismarck of this at the time of the Conference, when Germany recommended dispatch of Turkish troops.

No. 73.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received by telegraph, September 2.)

(No. 18. Confidential. Ext. 23.)

Pera, September 2, 1885.

My Lord,

I HEAR that the Sultan is disinclined to send troops to Egypt from fear of a collision with the Arab party at Cairo. The latter, although they recognize the Caliphate of the Sultan, are hostile to the Turkish race.

It appears that when Prince Bismarck advocated the dispatch of Turkish troops to Egypt, during the Conference of 1882, the Sultan informed his Highness of the difficulties which were to be apprehended from this quarter.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. DRUMMOND WOLFF.

No. 77 A.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received September 4, 1 P.M.)

(No. 28.)
(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, September 4, 1885, noon.*
AUSTRIAN Ambassador has spoken to Grand Vizier, and, I think, with effect Have told Sir A. Paget.

No. 77 B.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received September 4, 5 P.M.)

(No. 29.)
(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, September 4, 1885, 4 P.M.*
ON what ground do the French Government now object to dispatch of Turkish troops to Egypt, while they concurred in note of 15th July, 1882, inviting the Sultan to send troops there?

No. 74.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received September 2, 3·20 P.M.)

(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, September 2, 1885, 3·10 P.M.*
I HAVE had an official notification of the nomination of Assim Pasha and Kiamil Pasha as Plenipotentiaries to discuss the Egyptian question. Our first meeting just fixed for to-morrow at 2.

No. 75.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received by telegraph, September 2.)

(No. 19. Ext. 24.)
My Lord, *Pera, September 2, 1885.*
IT has been officially notified to me that Assim Pasha and Kiamil Pasha have been appointed Plenipotentiaries for the discussion of the Egyptian question. Our first meeting will take place at 2 o'clock to-morrow.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. DRUMMOND WOLFF.

No. 76.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received September 2.)

(No. 25.)
(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, September 2, 1885, 7·25 P.M.*
I HEAR Plenipotentiaries named intend to have formal meetings, and have appointed Nahoum Effendi as Protocolist. So I shall take Mr. Cartwright.

No. 77.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received by telegraph, September 2.)

(No. 20. Ext. 25.)
My Lord, *Therapia, September 2, 1885.*
I AM informed that the Plenipotentiaries who have been named to negotiate with me intend to hold formal meetings, and that they have appointed Nahoum Effendi to act as Protocolist. I shall therefore take Mr. Cartwright with me to serve in a similar capacity on my behalf.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. DRUMMOND WOLFF.

No. 78.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir H. Drummond Wolff.

(No. 11.)
(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, September 5, 1885, 3 P.M.*
YOUR No. 25 of 2nd.
I think you do quite right to protocol your proceedings. A Military Convention may be necessary for the main points—those on which Turkey is likely to throw us over.

No. 79.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received September 5, 9·30 P.M.)

(No. 30.)
(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, September 5, 1885, 8·2 P.M.*

MEETING to-day with Plenipotentiaries; on the whole very satisfactory. Will telegraph fully to-morrow.

No. 80.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received September 6, 12·30 P.M.)

(No. 31.)
(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, September 6, 1885, 10·10 A.M.*

MY telegram No. 30 of yesterday.

Turkish Plenipotentiaries proposed to deal with general question. I said that question of Tribunals and administration could only be dealt with on the spot. Inquiry made as to evacuation. I answered that evacuation might at first be battalion against battalion of Turkish or [?] troops, but withdrawal of balance could only take place when English and Turkish Commissioners were satisfied that institutions in the country were in good working order. England was looked upon as responsible for order, especially as regards finances, and a too early evacuation might encourage some other Power to occupy [group omitted?]. Reorganization of army on M. de Ring's system, viz., Turkish troops under Turkish officers holding Khedive's commission, seems to find favour. If battalions sufficient were formed at once on this plan, could we hand over Suakin alone? We might keep ships at Suakin. Please answer this at once.

I will not telegraph accounts of future meetings unless something important occurs on which I may require instructions, or anything like an agreement is arrived at. At present they are merely conversational.

I hope you are better.

No. 81.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received September 6, 3·40 P.M.)

(No. 32.)
(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, September 6, 1885.*

SULTAN sends word through Mr. Foster that he is most anxious for restoration of alliance with England. He says that intrigue is active, and money going; that Halim Pasha pretends to be English, but is really French; and he begs me to press on negotiations as fast as possible. I replied that I was most anxious to hasten matters, and begged him to press his own Plenipotentiaries.

No. 82.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir H. Drummond Wolff.

(No. 13.)
(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, September 6, 1885, 4·30 P.M.*

YOUR telegram No. 27 only reached me to-day, so impossible to answer in time for your meeting to-day.

A letter I have just received from General Stephenson shows it will not be safe for us just yet entirely to withdraw from Suakin. We might do so later, when Soudan is calmer, or arrangement for quartering English and Turkish troops at sufficiently separate points might be made.

Whenever you wish immediate answer, direct Foreign Office to repeat.

No. 83.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir H. Drummond Wolff.

(No. 14. Ext. 13.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, September 6, 1885.*

YOUR telegraphic despatch No. 27 of the 3rd instant, stating that the Porte seemed inclined to agree to the occupation of Suakin by Turkish troops if they might hold that port alone, and without being associated with British troops, only reached me to-day, so that it was impossible for me to send you an answer in time for the meeting of the Plenipotentiaries fixed for to-day.

A letter which I have just seen from General Stephenson shows that it will not be safe for Her Majesty's Government to withdraw at present the British forces from Suakin.

Later on it might be possible to do so, when the Eastern Soudan is in a more tranquil condition, or arrangements might possibly be made for quartering English and Turkish troops at points separated by a sufficient distance.

I am, &c.
(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 84.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir H. Drummond Wolff.

(No. 14.)
(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, September 6, 1885, 6·40 P.M.*

YOUR telegram No. 29 of the 4th instant.

French Government, in 1882, were with difficulty got to agree to Turkish troops being sent to Egypt at all. They would not agree to its being done except on conditions, and at the joint request, and under the control of England and France. They considered it would otherwise increase the hold of the Sultan on Egypt. They at last agreed to the invitation by all the Powers for Turkish troops to be sent for three months.

M. Waddington has always professed to me to dread that the result would be to hand over Egypt to uncontrolled management of Turkey.

No. 85.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir H. Drummond Wolff.

(No. 15. Ext. 14.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, September 6, 1885.*

IN reply to your inquiry as to the ground on which the French Government now object to the dispatch of Turkish troops to Egypt, while they concurred in inviting the Sultan to send troops to that country in 1882, I informed you to-day, by telegraph, that the French Government were, only with great difficulty, induced to entertain the idea of the dispatch of a Turkish force to Egypt.

They refused at first to agree to such a measure, except on the condition that it should be at the joint request and under the control of England and France, arguing that it would otherwise unduly increase the Sultan's hold on Egypt. Eventually, they assented to a joint invitation addressed by all the Powers to the Sultan to send Turkish troops to Egypt for a period of three months only.

The French Ambassador at this Court has always expressed to me his fear that the result of allowing Turkish troops to enter Egypt would be to hand over that country to the uncontrolled management of His Majesty the Sultan.

I am, &c.
(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 86.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received September 7, 1·15 A.M.)

(No. 33.)
(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, September 6, 1885, 8·50 P.M.*

GERMAN Chargé d'Affaires has been a good deal at Palace. He has just told me that he has heard of Sir E. Malet's conversation with Prince Bismarck, but had received no instructions. He says that [French Ambassador?] is much more conciliatory in his views than M. de Freycinet; also that the Sultan had great apprehensions as to my coming, which have been allayed. On Friday the Sultan told him that nothing objectionable had yet cropped up in our conferences, but that something might still present itself. German Chargé d'Affaires answered that he understood nothing would be proposed against the [?] of Treaties. I should be glad [?] had some more positive instructions; he is personally friendly.

No. 87.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir H. Drummond Wolff.

(No. 15.)
(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, September 8, 1885, 6·20 P.M.*

YOUR telegram No. 31.

Evacuation of Suakin by us is not practicable till our military officers report it to be safe.

I assume that Turkish officers holding Khedive's commission would obey Khedive's Generals, of whatsoever nationality.

General Stephenson expects an early possibility of reducing English troops at Suakin, and, I gather, even of their removal; but will not answer for the consequences if it is done now.

No. 88.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir H. Drummond Wolff.

(No. 16. Ext. 15.) *Foreign Office, September 8, 1885.*

Sir,

WITH reference to the inquiry contained in your telegram No. 31 of the 6th instant as to the evacuation of Suakin by the British troops, I informed you to-day, by telegraph, that it is not practicable for Her Majesty's Government to withdraw Her Majesty's forces from that port until informed by the military authorities that such a measure could be safely undertaken.

With regard to the proposal for the reorganization of the Egyptian army, I assume that Turkish officers holding commissions from the Khedive would be ready to obey His Highness' Generals, of whatever nationality these latter might be.

I am informed that General Stephenson expects an early possibility of reducing the strength of the English garrison at Suakin, and, I gather, even of withdrawing the whole force, but that he will not answer for the consequences should the measure in question be taken immediately.

I am, &c.
(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 89.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received September 9.)

(No. 13.) *Therapia, August 29, 1885.*

My Lord,

I THIS day had the honour of an official audience of His Majesty the Sultan in order to present my credentials. The audience took place with the usual ceremonial and in the presence of the great officers of State.

After presenting the letter of credence, I read to His Imperial Majesty Her

Majesty's gracious message in French, and it was afterwards read to His Imperial Majesty in Turkish by his Excellency Assym Pasha, Minister for Foreign Affairs.

His Imperial Majesty, in reply, was most gracious in his language to myself, saying that he was pleased at again seeing me and at my having been intrusted with this mission. His Imperial Majesty reciprocated the good feelings expressed by Her Majesty the Queen and Empress, and was convinced that Her Majesty fully recognized his rights as Sovereign of Egypt. His Imperial Majesty himself was most interested in the future of Egypt, and he would in a few days inform me of the names of the person or persons he would designate to discuss with me the questions at issue.

I cannot answer for the complete verbal accuracy of this Report, as his Excellency Assim Pasha, who translated, spoke in so low a tone that it was difficult to hear him. It however is on the whole correct.

I asked His Imperial Majesty to grant me a private audience, which he has fixed for to-morrow. I presented to him the members of the Mission, and he expressed pleasure at making their acquaintance.

Nothing could be more satisfactory as to form than the reception accorded to me. The audience was granted with unusual rapidity, and the readiness with which His Imperial Majesty granted me the private audience intimates, I believe, his desire to give careful attention to such proposals as I may make.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. DRUMMOND WOLFF.

No. 90.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received September 9.)

(No. 14.)
My Lord, *Pera, August 30, 1885.*

THE other day Sir William White informed me, on the part of Mr. Foster, the Governor of the Bank, that that gentleman had been sent for to the Palace on the subject of the proposals I was to make to the Sultan. Mr. Foster is very much respected by the authorities here, not only on account of his position, but of his high character, and the able manner in which, under difficult circumstances, he has been able to render valuable assistance to the Government. In fact, it was owing to his mediation that the Government escaped great embarrassments in their negotiations with Russia on the subject of the war indemnity.

Mr. Foster called on me last Friday in order to discuss with me the object of my mission, and the proposals or suggestions I was charged to make to the Sultan. I told him generally the object I had in view, limiting myself to that part of my instructions relating to co-operation in the Soudan and the possible dispatch of troops to Cairo or Alexandria.

On Saturday, just before my official audience, Mr. Foster called again, and hurriedly informed me that the Sultan was not personally unfavourable to the dispatch of troops, but he would wish to consider it further, as he had some doubts as to the effect it would produce on Mussulman races were his forces to appear in Egypt conjointly with those of Her Majesty. He would, therefore, later make me some proposal which he would request me to transmit to your Lordship for consideration.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. DRUMMOND WOLFF.

No. 91.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received September 9.)

(No. 15.)
My Lord, *Pera, August 30, 1885.*

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that I have this day had a private audience with His Imperial Majesty the Sultan. It lasted, together with luncheon, nearly three hours. His Excellency Assym Pasha was present, and our conversation was interpreted by his Excellency Munir Pasha, First Dragoman of the Sultan, and occasionally by Mr. Marinitch, Acting First Dragoman at Her Majesty's Embassy.

The observations I had the honour to address to His Imperial Majesty were

entirely on the lines of your Lordship's instructions, but they were expressed in generalities, as I thought it better to obtain, as early as possible, the nomination of the negotiators, with whom details could more easily be discussed.

His Imperial Majesty was most gracious, expressed his belief that the arrival of your Lordship to power and the designation of myself to this mission gave him the hope of a prompt and satisfactory solution of the Egyptian question. He wished the discussion to begin on Tuesday, and he would instruct the Minister for Foreign Affairs to designate to me on Monday the names of His Imperial Majesty's Delegates.

The question had much preoccupied His Imperial Majesty, and it had placed him in great difficulties with the population. His Imperial Majesty received me all through with the greatest kindness, and offered to place at my disposal one of his steam-launches, in order to facilitate my attendances at the meetings, which he wished to take place at the Sublime Porte.

At the conclusion of my audience the Sultan sent for Mr. Marinitch, and informed him that he intended to send a confidential communication to me through Mr. Foster, to which His Imperial Majesty desired to draw my serious attention.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. DRUMMOND WOLFF.

No. 92.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received September 9.)

(No. 16. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Pera, September* 1, 1885.

MR. EGERTON, in his despatch No. 558 of the 3rd ultimo, has pointed out to your Lordship the apprehension excited in the minds of many by the prospect of the presence of Turks in the Soudan.

I confess I, to a great extent, share these apprehensions, and I have in consequence seriously considered the possibility of obviating the dangers that may possibly be caused by the dispatch of Turkish troops to that country.

It is on this account that I have urged by telegraph on Her Majesty's Government the expediency of not withdrawing from Egypt any more troops so long as my negotiations are going on with the Government of the Sultan, and I think it will be a cause of regret if the decision of the War Office, based entirely upon the question of the number of troops necessary for the maintenance of order, should weaken or shipwreck a political combination on which that Department has not sufficient data to form a competent judgment.

In the arrangements, if any, to be made with the Turkish Government, special care must be taken that the British troops shall have a large preponderance over the Turkish contingent. This will be the only method for preventing the Turkish troops from marauding, a habit which has in former times rendered them odious to the people. In order to persuade the Turks to send the troops we require, it will be necessary to stipulate that British troops shall be withdrawn equal in number to those introduced by the Sultan, and I had counted for this purpose on the surplus troops. But until we know the dimensions of the force the Turks may desire to send it will be impossible to make the estimate, and if it be intended now to reduce our troops in Egypt to the minimum required for the preservation of order, we may find ourselves in an anxious dilemma if the pretensions of Turks as to numbers should exceed our present anticipation.

The adjustment of numbers will be a task of great difficulty, and as I gather from your Lordship's despatch that the recent withdrawal is in consequence of orders which were issued a long time ago, it is more than probable that those orders were given on purely departmental grounds before it was intended to negotiate with the Turks for the employment of Ottoman forces.

If troops are withdrawn now, and the minimum left should prove inadequate, the dispatch later of additional troops from England would give rise to comment and criticism both at home and abroad. It therefore seems very little to ask that troops which have been in Egypt some time during unhealthy weather should not be removed hastily during pending arrangements when the necessities of climate are no longer urgent.

I fully feel the necessity of reducing the forces in Egypt as soon as it can be done, and I do not venture to touch upon the calculations of Lord Wolseley and

the military authorities as to the number of men required for the maintenance of order, but the present negotiations open considerations not contemplated when the orders were issued, and the question of order is not the only one now to be thought of.

I would venture to call your Lordship's attention to another point connected with the proposed joint occupation. There is a sum set apart in the Egyptian Budget for the cost of the Army of Occupation. It is plain that the Turkish Government will expect also to have some part, if not the whole, of their expenses paid in the same manner; and, indeed, it is desirable that some provision should be made for this purpose. The troops throughout Turkey are now suffering under long arrears of pay; I even hear that in some places demonstrations have been made when troops have been ordered to move. It will probably be necessary, before troops are detailed for Egyptian service, to guard against such an occurrence, and it is even more essential that, when in Egypt, they should be regularly paid, so as to remove them as far as possible from any temptation to levy blackmail on the populations. The regiments sent should be selected from the best disciplined troops in the service. The importation of Bashi-Bazouks, with their wild habits, would be held to justify the opposition now raised by the French Government on other grounds.

The Turkish Treasury, I am informed, is in a deplorable condition. Some assistance must therefore be positively given to the Turkish Government if we are anxious for their military co-operation. This requirement will have its good side, as enabling us to place a limit on the dimensions of the force to be provided by Turkey. But it will have to be met. The point will probably be one of the first raised, and I therefore venture to request your Lordship to give me early instructions as to the means of meeting it.

As the arrangement to be concluded with Turkey will be the first step towards the evacuation of the country, it will be a real economy for Her Majesty's Government to further it even by a present pecuniary sacrifice.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. DRUMMOND WOLFF.

No. 93.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received September 9.)

(Separate and Confidential.)
My Lord, *Therapia, September* 3, 1885.

AFTER my private audience of the Sultan, Assim Pasha and Munir Pasha begged me to settle with them the summary of our conversation.

Inclosed is a copy of the Memorandum, which took a long time to prepare owing to the difficulty of finding French phrases that could fit into Turkish idioms.

Mr. Marinich was of great assistance in the task.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. DRUMMOND WOLFF.

Inclosure in No. 93.

Memorandum.

DANS l'audience qui a eu lieu aujourd'hui, son Excellence Sir Drummond Wolff a dit à Sa Majesté Impériale le Sultan :—

Lord Salisbury ayant les deux portefeuilles du Chef de Cabinet et des Affaires Étrangères, cela lui donne une grande puissance pour régler la politique de l'Angleterre; que nous savons la grande influence et puissance que possède Sa Majesté le Sultan sur tous les peuples qui professent la foi Musulmane et notre désir est de sauvegarder tous les droits de Sa Majesté Impériale; que Lord Salisbury en me donnant la mission de venir ici a voulu montrer ce désir, avant même d'examiner la question Égyptienne ou de suggérer un remède de consulter le désir et l'opinion de Sa Majesté Impériale.

Son Excellence a dit que sa mission en Égypte ne consiste pas à s'occuper des évènements passés, mais, vu la situation actuelle, de chercher à assurer l'avenir; que pour cela je prierai Sa Majesté de désigner quelques personnes pour entrer dans les

détails, et que je suis sûr qu'avec les deux hommes d'État éclairés et capables tels que le Grand Vizir et le Ministre des Affaires Étrangères, avec lequel j'ai eu des relations si agréables dans le temps, nous ne manquerons pas de trouver les détails pour arriver à une solution; que la raison principale pour laquelle je désire vivement que Sa Majesté Impériale intervienne dans cet arrangement est qu'il a des droits spirituels, aussi bien que des droits temporels; mais il est patent que pour les droits spirituels, cette question ne saurait être traitée par ceux qui n'appartiennent pas à la foi Musulmane. Ainsi nous croyons que l'intervention de Sa Majesté serait avantageuse pour ses droits; que je n'avais aucune autre mission que celle relative aux affaires d'Égypte.

Je voudrais donner également un démenti solennel aux bruits qui courrent, que nous désirons nous emparer de l'Égypte ou de mettre ce pays sous notre Protectorat.

Sa Majesté a répondu que la communication que son Excellence venait de lui faire lui causait une grand satisfaction. L'arrivée de Lord Salisbury au pouvoir et la désignation de son Excellence pour cette mission était pour elle un motif d'espoir pour la solution prompte et satisfaisante de la question; qu'il voulait que l'examen de la question commence dès Mardi à la Sublime Porte, et que son Excellence recevrait par l'intermédiaire du Ministre des Affaires Étrangères l'avis de la nomination des Délégués; que cette question l'avait beaucoup préoccupée et qu'elle s'était trouvée dans de grandes difficultés vis-à-vis de la population, et que pour cela elle voyait avec satisfaction la nomination de son Excellence, connaissant ses sentiments de sympathie, et que Sa Majesté n'avait jamais pensé aux bruits malveillants auxquels son Excellence a fait allusion.

En donnant fin à l'audience, Sa Majesté a de nouveau exprimé l'espoir que la question recevrait bientôt une solution satisfaisante.

Sir H. D. Wolff a répondu que le Gouvernement Anglais voulait donner à la question une solution que Sa Majesté Impériale approuve de tout son cœur.

No. 94.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received September 9.)

(No. 21.)

My Lord, *Therapia, September* 4, 1885.

YESTERDAY as I telegraphed to your Lordship I met for the first time, officially, the two Plenipotentiaries appointed to treat with me.

Previous to the meeting I called on the Grand Vizier, telling him it was my intention before making any distinct proposals to ascertain what were the views of the Sultan and his Ministers, that I might endeavour to shape my proposals accordingly.

Without dwelling too much on the somewhat desultory conversation which took place with the Plenipotentiaries, I will endeavour briefly to convey to your Lordship the different points on which I consider a Preliminary Agreement to be possible; and I am strongly of opinion that any present arrangement with the Ottoman Government should be very simple, and limited as far as possible to two points: 1st. The pacification of the Soudan; 2nd. The appointment of a Commissioner to proceed to Egypt, and there, with myself or some other Representative of Her Majesty's Government, to settle the future organization of the country.

The first point discussed was the recognition of the rights of the Sultan and the maintenance of Treaties and Firmans. We took this as a basis. The régime of Treaties and Firmans, we agreed, was the normal state of Egypt. The present is an abnormal state, and our task was to devise the means of returning to and restoring permanently the normal state. On this the Plenipotentiaries expressed a wish that it should preclude the possibility of the return of foreign troops.

The next question touched on was the dispatch of Turkish troops to Egypt. The Plenipotentiaries were of opinion that this should be done, at the request of the Khedive, for the restoration of order. I asked whether they would be under the orders of the Khedive, and was answered in the affirmative.

I then remarked that some difficulties might arise from the opposition of the French Government to the introduction of Turkish troops into Egypt, and I therefore asked that the conversation in the first instance should turn on the dispatch of Turkish troops to Suakin or the frontier.

The Plenipotentiaries then with some hesitation entered into an explanation which, as your Lordship will gather from previous reports, was not unexpected, to the

effect that there was great disinclination on the part of the Sultan to associate his troops with ours. The result of the brilliant but fruitless operations of our forces having been the destruction of many thousands of Mussulmans makes the Sultan fear to be identified with us as against races of his own faith.

An Egyptian of high rank has informed me that the dispatch of Mussulman troops under Hicks Pasha did more than anything else to promote the power of the Mahdi. The suggestions, therefore, of the Plenipotentiaries followed the outline traced out by the Sultan to Mr. Foster, and was to the effect that peaceful negotiations on behalf of the Sultan, carried out by Civil Commissioners, would be more effectual than the appearance of His Imperial Majesty's troops in conjunction with our own. I asked the Plenipotentiaries whether the matter could be rendered easier by the occupation of Suakin exclusively by Turkish troops, and with this understanding they said they might agree to the occupation of Suakin. The expense was to be borne out of Egyptian funds.

I think great difficulties will be experienced as to Assouan.

With regard to the dispatch of Turkish troops to Egypt Proper there was some demur, and, from what I infer, the views of the Sultan on this point have undergone considerable change. For, when I mentioned the desire of Her Majesty's Government that some such dispatch should take place, the Plenipotentiaries did not seem at all eager for it. I told them that Her Majesty's Government concurred in it as a means of asserting the rights of the Sultan, but we anticipated opposition on the part of the French Government.

This did not seem to impress them profoundly, and when I continued that the French Government might perhaps object less to a scheme such as that suggested by Baron de Ring, which I described without mentioning its origin, they seemed to look upon it as relieving them from a difficulty.

They appeared to grasp at the idea of a Turkish Commissioner being sent to concert the future organization of Egypt, and I cannot but think that the Arab counsels in the Palace are obtaining great weight with the Sultan. These strongly advocate the spiritual supremacy of the Sultan over Mussulman races, but would give to those races autonomous power and freedom from Turkish temporal rule as distinct from the Caliphate.

I told the Plenipotentiaries that I could not agree to any fixed term for the evacuation. If such a term were fixed, and whenever it approached to maturity, circumstances, however urgent, were to prevent its being observed, Her Majesty's Government might be accused of bad faith. A much stronger argument against it was this: that if the term were determined our authority in Egypt would be of no value whatever, as delays under one pretext or another would interfere with every species of improvement or reform. To this view they apparently agreed. In my opinion, the question should be left to be dealt with on the spot after the necessary steps have been taken for the pacification of the Soudan.

A question was raised by Kiamil Pasha on the subject of Massowah; on this point I expressed myself unwilling to give an opinion; but I should be ready to submit to your Lordship any observation the Plenipotentiaries might wish to make.

The next meeting is fixed for to-morrow.

I have, &c.

(Signed) H. DRUMMOND WOLFF.

No. 95.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received September 9.)

(No. 23.)

My Lord, *Therapia, September* 5, 1885.

SEVERAL friends of Prince Halim asked me if I would object to his calling on me. I replied that I should be very happy to see him, but added that it would be useless to speak to me on the question of his claims to the Khediviate.

His Highness then sent to say that he wished to call as a private individual, and not as a Pretender, and as I was out the first time, His Highness called a second time yesterday. His conversation showed much tact, as he not only avoided all reference to his own views, but alluded in terms of commendation to the Khedive Tewfik.

He expressed his regret that Her Majesty's Government had not acted more

energetically after Tel-el-Kebir, either by proclaiming a Protectorate or by withdrawing, and he considered that the Mahdi might have been checked but for the dispatch of Mussulman troops under Christian officers like Hicks Pasha.

He did not enter into much detail, and, after a short visit, left me. The tone of his remarks was very much that of the Arab party, viz., Egypt for the Egyptians.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. DRUMMOND WOLFF.

No. 96.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir E. Malet.

(No. 75.)
(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, September* 9, 1885, 12·10 P.M.

[Repetition of telegram from Sir H. D. Wolff No. 33 of 6th instant.]

Pray obtain, if you can, instructions to the Chargé d'Affaires at Constantinople generally favourable to Sir H. D. Wolff's objects as explained in telegram communicated to German Government by you.

No. 97.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received September 9, 1 P.M.)

(No. 34. Confidential.)
(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, September* 9, 1885, 10·25 A.M.

YOUR telegram No. 15.

Evacuation of Suakin need not, under present circumstances, be discussed. If troops withdraw from Suakin, they should not leave Egypt. Important in present phase of negotiations to keep as many troops in the country as possible. Meeting of yesterday shows that matters are hastening on, and I hope by next messenger to report some definite proposals.

No. 98.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir H. Drummond Wolff.

(No 17.)
(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, September* 9, 1885, 1·20 P.M.

YOUR telegram No. 33 of 6th.

I have communicated with Sir E. Malet, and requested him to obtain, if he can, instructions in sense you suggest.

No. 99.

Sir E. Malet to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received September 10, 7·8 P.M.)

(No. 66.)
(Telegraphic.) *Berlin, September* 10, 1885, 6·8 P.M.

YOUR telegram No. 75 of yesterday.

Count Bismarck repeated to me to-day statement which Prince Bismarck authorized him to make, as reported in my despatch No. 380 of 29th August, adding that the Prince is most anxious to support the Egyptian policy of Her Majesty's Government as he understood it, but that it would be difficult for him to give *carte blanche* instructions to their present Representative at Constantinople, who is only Chargé d'Affaires, to support generally the objects of Sir H. D. Wolff's mission, unless your Lordship will specify particular points on which support is desired. Would it be sufficient if he were instructed to say that the German Government approved the idea of seeking the co-operation of the Sultan in settlement and occupation of Egypt, this being all that the German Government as yet know of objects of Sir H. D. Wolff's mission? Chargé d'Affaires reports that Sir H. D. Wolff has not communicated to him any particulars.

No. 100.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received September 11, 1·6 A.M.)

(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, September* 10, 1885, 11·15 P.M.

TO-DAY at a private audience Sultan told German Chargé d'Affaires that nothing had yet been arranged with me, but that he hoped a settlement would very shortly be concluded.

No. 101.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir H. Drummond Wolff.

(No. 17.)
(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, September* 12, 1885, 8 A.M.

MALET telegraphs: "Count Bismarck repeats Prince Bismarck's assurances of support to Egyptian policy of Her Majesty's Government, but asks particular points on which he should instruct German Chargé d'Affaires to support Wolff's mission. Prince asks if it would be sufficient if Chargé d'Affaires were instructed to say that German Government approved idea of seeking co-operation of Sultan in settlement and occupation of Egypt, this being all German Government yet know of Wolff's mission."

No. 102.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir H. Drummond Wolff.

(No. 19. Ext. 17.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, September* 12, 1885.

I INFORMED you to-day, by telegraph, that Count Herbert Bismarck had repeated to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Berlin the assurances previously given by his father, the Chancellor, to support the Egyptian policy of Her Majesty's Government, but had asked for more specific details of the particular points on which Her Majesty's Government desired the support of the German Representative at Constantinople.

Prince Bismarck desired to be informed whether it would be sufficient if the German Chargé d'Affaires were instructed to inform the Porte that the Government of the Emperor approved the idea of Her Majesty's Government seeking the co-operation of His Majesty the Sultan in settling the affairs of Egypt and in making arrangements for the military occupation of that country, this being, said Count H. Bismarck, all that the Imperial Government knew as to the object of the mission with which you have been intrusted.

I am, &c.
(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 103.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received September 12, 6 P.M.)

(No. 35.)
(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, September* 12, 1885, 4 P.M.

YOUR Lordship's telegram No. 17.

It would be sufficient for the present if German Chargé d'Affaires were instructed to make suggested communication immediately and pointedly to Grand Vizier, especially if the Sultan were advised of the importance to himself of such overtures.

Does your Lordship think it advisable to inform Prince Bismarck of details of negotiations? If so, it would be better done by Sir E. Malet at Berlin than by me here, and would relieve me later of any imputation of undue reservation towards Representatives of other Powers.

For the present, however, a general communication to the Grand Vizier would be best, if made at once. It must be remembered that Turks have requested profound secrecy as to details of negotiations.

Perhaps Sir E. Malet would telegraph to me the nature and date of any instructions sent.

No. 104.

Mr. Egerton to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received September 12, 7·40 P.M.)

(No. 135.)
(Telegraphic.) *Cairo, September 12, 1885, 6·50 P.M.*

FOLLOWING sent to Wolff :—

"(Most Confidential.)

"Some fears entertained here that attitude of Khedive to his Ministers has been unfavourably influenced by communications from Constantinople. I do not know of any certain grounds for these suspicions, but inform you that you should be watchful of Palace. There can be no question of our allowing Nubar Pasha's Ministry to fall. I have just spoken to Khedive, and am perfectly satisfied with his language."

No. 105.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received September 13, 2·35 P.M.)

(No. 36. Most Confidential.)
(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, September 13, 1885, 12·40 P.M.*

EGERTON telegraphs that there have been symptoms of coldness shown by Khedive to Nubar Pasha. He thinks these may have been caused by orders from the Sultan. I learn that there have lately been frequent communications between Khedive and Sultan.

Shall I say anything to Grand Vizier in favour of Nubar Pasha, or do you think it dangerous?

No. 106.

Sir E. Malet to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received September 14.)

(No. 399. Ext. 66.)
My Lord, *Berlin, September 10, 1885.*

WITH reference to your Lordship's telegram No. 75 of yesterday, I have the honour to report that in an interview I had to-day with Count Bismarck he repeated to me the statement which his father had authorized him to make, and which I reported in my despatch No. 380 to your Lordship of the 29th August. Count Bismarck added that the Chancellor was most anxious to give Her Majesty's Government his support in their present Egyptian policy, so far as he understood it, but that there were difficulties in the way of his sending *carte blanche* instructions to the German Representative at Constantinople, who, at the present moment, was only a Chargé d'Affaires, to give a general support to Sir H. D. Wolff's mission unless your Lordship could give more precise particulars of the points on which Her Majesty's Government desired the support of Germany.

Would your Lordship consider it sufficient if the German Chargé d'Affaires received instructions to say that his Government approved the idea of Her Majesty's Government seeking the co-operation of the Sultan in the settlement of the Egyptian question and for the occupation of that country, this being all that the Imperial Government know as yet of the objects of Sir H. D. Wolff's mission? Sir Henry, so the German Chargé d'Affaires reports, has not yet communicated to him any particulars respecting his mission.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWARD B. MALET.

No. 107.

Sir E. Malet to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received September 14.)

(No. 404. Very Confidential.)
My Lord, *Berlin, September 10, 1885.*

WITH reference to your Lordship's telegram No. 75 of the 9th instant, and to my telegram No. 66 of to-day, I have the honour to inform your Lordship that Count Bismarck spoke at length and very unreservedly on the subject of the wish I had

expressed to him for instructions to the German Chargé d'Affaires at Constantinople, and in a manner generally favourable to the objects of Sir H. D. Wolff's mission.

He said he did not quite understand what was wanted, and he referred to notes which he had by him of his conversation with me on the 29th ultimo, in which he had expressed his father's general and cordial adherence to the policy shadowed forth in my confidential communication to him in regard to the Sultan's co-operation in settling Egypt.

I said that that expression must have been most satisfactory to your Lordship. I had faithfully reported it, with the private opinion of the Prince in regard to the point of a "simultaneous withdrawal," and I did not doubt that much weight had been attached to this expression. What I gathered was now wanted was that the German Representative at Constantinople should be authorized to give expression to the same general approval at Constantinople, as he seemed to have good opportunity of communicating with the Sultan, and Sir H. D. Wolff seemed to think that such assistance would be invaluable, as the Sultan would naturally attach value to the opinion of the Chancellor, which he could feel was an impartial and entirely disinterested one.

Count Bismarck said that I probably already knew that Prince Bismarck was most anxious to give your Lordship every assistance in his power for many reasons, but you seemed to wish general instructions to be given to their Chargé d'Affaires favourable to the objects of Sir H. D. Wolff's mission. Now, in the first place, the Chargé d'Affaires, M. de Thielmann, though an able young man, was not in a position to admit of giving him *carte blanche* instructions, particularly in regard to a mission of which they only knew what I had been authorized to communicate. If we could specify any particular points on which his expression of the views of his Government could assist Sir Henry, Prince Bismarck would be only too happy to see if he could send him the necessary instructions. M. de Thielmann had, he believed, only seen the Sultan on one occasion lately, when the German Minister of Agriculture, Herr Lucius, was entertained at the Palace. The Sultan had, on that occasion, not touched on politics with M. de Thielmann, and had confined his remarks to inquiries about the Emperor's health. M. de Thielmann had also reported that Sir H. D. Wolff had been most friendly, but had been reticent on politics, and had made no communication to him about his mission. He had felt delicacy in putting any direct questions to Sir Henry, but he understood that he had been more communicative to the Austrian, French, and other Ambassadors.

Count Herbert hinted that possibly Sir H. D. Wolff had secret instructions, and that I must know that the Russian Government were very curious and suspicious on this point, and Germany had to be very careful in not arousing any suspicions that she was supporting generally a mission one of the objects of which might be an Anglo-Turkish alliance in view of eventual hostilities with Russia.

He hoped that the Afghan difficulty was in a fair way of settlement, and once that danger safely removed from the scene, Prince Bismarck would probably be able to give us a great deal more assistance in what he understood to be your Lordship's present line of foreign policy, and go hand in hand with us in several schemes, but to do so now would be doing no service to us, and perhaps injury to their own interests.

I said that I firmly believed that Sir Henry had no secret instructions such as he had indicated; that he was simply confining his attention to the settlement of the Egyptian question with the co-operation of the Sultan and in loyalty to Treaty engagements on the lines which Prince Bismarck seemed to approve; and that I believed the Afghan difficulty might now be considered in a fair way of settlement.

Count Bismarck finally agreed to reply to your Lordship that, if you would specify the particular points on which Germany could assist Sir Henry Drummond Wolff, Prince Bismarck would try and give such instructions as would serve the purpose to M. de Thielmann.

I asked whether he could not now instruct M. de Thielmann to say, if asked at Constantinople, that Prince Bismarck agreed with the ideas communicated in your Lordship's telegram of the 18th August. "But," said Count Herbert, "that simply amounted to the idea of co-operating with the Sultan in the temporary occupation of Egypt and settlement of the country. Would that be sufficient? You can ask that question. Of course, we should be delighted if you could get the Sultan to put himself at your bidding in regard to the withdrawal of his troops, and we see all the inconvenience of their stopping there after you; but we believe that the Sultan, who has a will of his own, will never yield this point, and that you will not be able to overcome this difficulty if you make it a condition now to his co-operation.

"As to your fixing a date now for your own withdrawal, we see the impossibility of it, and have no desire to ask you to do so."

I gathered from this conversation that the only cause for hesitating to give general instructions to M. de Thielmann is a suspicion and fear that Sir Henry Drummond Wolff may have some secret proposal to make, the effect of which might be directed against Russia, and that, if this fear were removed, and with it the possibility of Russia misinterpreting any steps taken by the German Embassy at Constantinople, we should get what your Lordship desires from Prince Bismarck, as he is very anxious to assist your Lordship; and that, if Sir Henry Drummond Wolff were to communicate frankly with M. de Thielmann on any point on which he desired a helping hint or word, he would get instructions to give it if it did not collide with any direct interests of Germany.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWARD B. MALET.

No. 108.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received September 14, 6·55 P.M.)

(No. 37. Confidential.)
(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, September 14, 1885, 5·10 P.M.*

TURKISH Plenipotentiaries are very anxious to know proposals. They have both written and telegraphed. I have sent them to-day a note, copy of which will go by messenger. At the same time I gave a written instruction to Mr. Marinich to inform them that I could not forward to your Lordship any proposal on their part which would fix a term for the evacuation by our troops.

I have dealt with the question of evacuation thus: Whenever Commissioners are satisfied with the stability of the army and the civil institutions, they are to make a collective Report, which may serve as the basis of an ulterior Convention for the evacuation.

No. 109.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir H. Drummond Wolff.

(No. 18.)
(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, September 14, 1885.*

COURTEOUSLY make Grand Vizier understand that we shall not abandon Nubar, and any intrigues against him will force on us action injurious to Turkish position in Egypt.

Inform Egerton.

No. 110.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir E. Malet.

(No. 79.)
(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, September 15, 1885.*

YOUR telegram No. 66.

We should be much obliged if German Government will instruct its Representatives in the sense mentioned in your telegram.

No. 111.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received September 15, 1·3 A.M.)

(No. 38.)
(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, September 15, 1885, 12·5 A.M.*

MR. EGERTON has telegraphed that he thinks crisis about Nubar Pasha past, and seems to think it unnecessary to say anything at present to Grand Vizier. I shall, therefore, wait until I hear further, unless you instruct me to the contrary.

No. 112.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received September 16, 6·30 P.M.)

(No. 39. Confidential.)
(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, September 16, 1885, 5·30 P.M.*

AN Arab gentleman told me to-day that the Sultan had consulted the Sheikhs on Egyptian matters, and they were not opposed to an arrangement.

I could not see Grand Vizier on account of illness of one of his sons, but Assim Pasha received me. He told me that subject of my note was to be brought to-day before the Council of Ministers, and that he hoped we should soon come to a conclusion.

I advised him not to give me any proposal officially till we had discussed it, to which he agreed.

We shall probably meet Saturday. Baïram begins on Sunday.

No. 113.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received September 17, 1 P.M.)

(No. 40.)
(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, September 17, 1885, 11·10 A.M.*

MR. MARINICH informs me that the Council of Ministers yesterday which sat on the Egyptian question did not separate till 3 this morning.

No. 114.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received September 17, 9·50 P.M.)

(No. 41. Confidential.)
(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, September 17, 1885, 8 P.M.*

MR. MARINICH has just returned from the Porte, where he learnt that Council had, after long discussion, arrived at a decision and sent Report to the Sultan. Assim Pasha said he hoped that it would be satisfactory, and it had reached His Imperial Majesty this morning. From another Minister Mr. Marinich learns that contents of my note were unanimously accepted, with some slight modification in detail. Discussion is to be continued at once, notwithstanding Baïram. Germany is known at the Palace to be somewhat favourable, but France and Russia are still working against us both at the Palace and the Porte.

No. 115.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received September 19.)

(No. 24. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Therapia, September 8, 1885.*

THIS day I had a second meeting at the Porte with the Turkish Plenipotentiaries.

While we were going through the draft Protocol of the first meeting Kiamil Pasha observed that it was desirable we should proceed a little faster than was possible with Protocols, and he suggested that we should confine ourselves at our meetings to a general interchange of ideas which would probably expedite our coming to an agreement.

I anticipated this from an intimation I had received in a message from the Sultan, and expressed my concurrence. The rest of the meeting, which was not long, was therefore limited to a general discussion of Egyptian affairs, and Lieutenant Stuart-Wortley, who had accompanied me, gave to the Plenipotentiaries some interesting statistics as to the composition of the different forces and garrisons in Egypt.

We are to have our next meeting to-morrow, when I hope to be able to lay before your Lordship some definite proposals. I suggested that any agreement we came to could only be of a preliminary character, the details to be deferred till we could arrive at a final understanding, after making a more minute and searching inquiry in Egypt.

To this the Plenipotentiaries agreed. It is their wish that our agreement here should be recorded in a Convention, and his Excellency Kiamil Pasha went so far as to suggest that I should request your Lordship to send me full powers at once, so that the Convention could be signed as soon as your Lordship had approved the stipulations by telegraph. I answered that I would inform your Lordship of this suggestion.

Of course it is idle to pretend to foresee the result of this negotiation, but I have arrived at the conviction that it is, at present at any rate, the wish of the Sultan and his Ministers to come to an understanding with the least possible delay.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. DRUMMOND WOLFF.

No. 116.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received September 19.)

(No. 25.)
My Lord, *Therapia, September* 9, 1885.

THIS morning I informed the Italian Ambassador, confidentially, that I had no instructions to discuss the question of Massowah, and had so informed the Turkish Plenipotentiaries.

His Excellency thanked me for this communication, with which he seemed pleased.

Count Corti has been of great use to me, both by his advice and by the language he has held to the Sultan, and I was glad to perceive that he considered my statement satisfactory.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. DRUMMOND WOLFF.

No. 117.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received September 19.)

(No. 26. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Therapia, September* 9, 1885.

I CALLED to-day on the French Ambassador. I told his Excellency that I had as yet come to no conclusion with the Porte, but that I was glad to gather from communications from your Lordship that the views of the French Government were not very different from those of your Lordship.

He said he feared it would be difficult to get the Sultan to move, as he did not see what price we could offer him for using his influence in Egypt; that he had declined to do so at the time of Arabi, and that he would be afraid to do so now.

I replied that this was the very difficulty I desired to solve, and that I hoped I should receive his Excellency's assistance in doing so.

His Excellency replied that no one was more desirous than himself to see an end put to the Egyptian question, as he could not avoid seeing that it was a thorn in the good relations between France and England.

His Excellency said that his policy had always been founded on a good understanding between the two Western countries. Theirs was the only real civilization, and without a very close friendship between them, civilization must suffer.

Unfortunately, England had not been able to assist France in the German war, and therefore it was impossible to renew at the time of hostilities between Turkey and Russia the alliance which had been so beneficial to Turkey during the Crimean war.

His Excellency had also a grievance on account of the conduct of the British Government during the Egyptian Conference at Constantinople with respect to the Suez Canal, and went into details.

England, he went on to say, had preponderating interests in Egyyt, but France had also interests there, which were smaller, but not on account of their dimensions less dear to her, and he trusted that any arrangement that took place would draw nearer the ties between England and France.

I replied that I was not less anxious than his Excellency to preserve a good understanding with France, and that I believed from what I had heard it would be possible to obtain her good-will in future arrangements.

His Excellency said he agreed with me that the first step to be taken was to create the nucleus of a solid army to preserve order in Egypt. He spoke academically, but he wished me every success, and would do nothing to prevent it. All through the interview his language was very frank and friendly.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. DRUMMOND WOLFF.

No. 118.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received September 19.)

(No. 27.)
My Lord, *Therapia, September* 15, 1885.

I HAVE now the honour to inclose the Protocol of our first meeting.

The principal alteration I insisted upon was in the paragraph commencing with the words, "Les Ministres Ottomans tiennent à constater . . ." These words in the original were followed thus: "que cette réorganisation devra être faite au nom de Sa Majesté Impériale le Sultan sur la base de ses droits de souveraineté, et dans les limites des Traités existants et des privilèges octroyés à l'Égypte par les Firmans Impériaux."

I demurred to the words, "au nom de Sa Majesté Impériale le Sultan . . ." This I did fearing that they might serve as a pretext for diminishing some rights heretofore exercised by the Khedive himself.

I further added on my account the words, "que les engagements internationaux contractés par Son Altesse le Khedive devraient être également pris en considération."

The Protocol has not been signed, but the copy I now send your Lordship is the exact copy of that given me by Naoum Effendi.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. DRUMMOND WOLFF.

Inclosure in No. 118.

Protocole No. 1.

LEURS Excellences Assim Pacha, Ministre des Affaires Étrangères, et Kiamil Pacha, Ministre de l'Evcaf, désignés par Sa Majesté Impériale le Sultan en qualité de Plénipotentiaires pour entrer en pourparlers sur les affaires d'Égypte avec son Excellence Sir Henry Drummond Wolff, Envoyé Extraordinaire et Ministre Plénipotentiaire de Sa Majesté Britannique en Mission Spéciale, ont tenu leur première réunion aujourd'hui, 5 Septembre, 1885, au Département des Affaires Étrangères.

A l'ouverture de la séance son Excellence *Sir H. Drummond Wolff* demande si Sa Majesté Impériale le Sultan est disposée à envoyer des troupes à Souakim.

Les Ministres Ottomans répondent qu'il serait préférable que la question Égyptienne fût discutée dans son ensemble et d'une manière générale.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff adhère à cette demande, et ajoute que les détails de la question pourraient être examinés sur les lieux mêmes. A cet effet il propose qu'un personnage jouissant de la confiance de Sa Majesté Impériale le Sultan soit envoyé comme Commissaire Extraordinaire en Égypte afin d'étudier, de concert avec un Commissaire de Sa Majesté la Reine et Son Altesse le Khédive, les moyens les plus propres à réorganiser l'armée et les Tribunaux et améliorer les finances et l'administration.

Les Ministres Ottomans tiennent à constater que cette organisation devra être faite sur la base des droits de souveraineté de Sa Majesté Impériale le Sultan, et dans

les limites des Traités existants et des privilèges octroyés à l'Égypte par les Firmans Impériaux.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff ajoute que les engagements internationaux contractés par Son Altesse le Khédive devraient également être pris en considération.

Abordant ensuite la question de l'évacuation, *les Ministres Ottomans* demandent quand les troupes Anglaises quitteront l'Égypte.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff répond qu'il n'est pas possible en ce moment de déterminer la date à laquelle ces troupes seront retirées, mais qu'il serait procédé à l'évacuation graduellement: que si, par exemple, la Turquie envoyait des troupes en Égypte, à l'arrivée de chaque régiment Ottoman un régiment Anglais quitterait le pays, et que le retrait complet des troupes Britanniques pourrait être décidé par les deux Commissaires aussitôt qu'ils auraient constatés que l'administration locale a été placée sur un pied assez solide pour pouvoir fonctionner seul.

Parlant des obstacles que l'envoi des troupes Turques au Caire et dans l'Égypte proprement dite rencontrerait de la part de la France d'après ce que Sir H. Drummond Wolff avait déclaré dans une conversation antérieure, *les Plénipotentiaires Ottomans* expriment le désir d'avoir quelques explications.

Son Excellence l'Envoyé de Sa Majesté la Reine dit que les difficultés auxquelles il avait fait allusion disparaîtraient facilement si on envoyait au lieu de troupes prises dans les cadres de l'armée régulière, des troupes spécialement recrutées pour servir sous les ordres de Son Altesse le Khédive. Son Excellence ajoute qu'en ce qui concerne l'armée Égyptienne elle-même il serait désirable qu'elle fut formée plutôt par conscription volontaire que par recrutement régulier.

Les Ministres Ottomans posent la question de savoir si par l'organisation et l'augmentation de l'armée Égyptienne on ne pourrait pas atteindre le même but qu'on aurait en vue en envoyant des troupes Turques.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff fait remarquer que s'il a proposé l'envoi d'un corps de troupes Ottomanes en Égypte, c'est par déférence pour Sa Majesté Impériale le Sultan, que l'effectif actuel de l'armée Égyptienne qui est de 5,000 à 6,000 hommes devrait être en effet augmenté, mais qu'en tout cas il serait à désirer que Son Altesse le Khédive fût autorisée à recruter des soldats en Turquie.

Les Ministres Ottomans ayant demandé s'il ne serait pas possible de réorganiser l'armée Égyptienne avec des éléments exclusivement indigènes, *Sir H. Drummond Wolff* répond que pour inspirer une plus grande confiance il serait désirable de ne pas restreindre le choix aux éléments exclusivement indigènes.

Les Ministres Ottomans sans se prononcer sur la question de principe craignent que le recrutement périodique d'hommes valides en Turquie destinés à servir dans l'armée Égyptienne n'offre dans la pratique de sérieux inconvénients en ce sens qu'il pourrait notamment laisser des vides dans les rangs de l'armée Ottomane.

Ce point est réservé.

Quant aux frais qui seraient occasionnés par l'envoi et le séjour des troupes Turques en Égypte, *Sir H. Drummond Wolff* estime que si le Gouvernement Ottoman ne veut pas les prendre à sa charge, les ressources sur lesquelles ils seront prélevés devront être déterminées d'avance entre les Commissaires, attendu que les fonds inscrits dans le Budget Égyptien pour les frais d'occupation de l'armée Anglaise sont insuffisants. Son Excellence considère dès lors que la question de l'envoi de troupes Turques ou de l'organisation militaire en Égypte est étroitement liée avec la question financière.

Les Plénipotentiaires Ottomans sont d'avis que la question dont les deux Commissaires auraient avant tout à s'occuper est l'organisation de l'armée Égyptienne sur les bases pouvant assurer aussi bien la pacification du Soudan que le maintien de l'ordre public, et amener aussi le départ des troupes Anglaises; sauf à examiner ensuite les autres objets de leur mission.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff fait remarquer qu'il serait difficile aux troupes Anglaises d'évacuer le pays avant l'établissement d'un système financier. Les soldats Britanniques, dit-il, sont les gardiens des intérêts Européens en Égypte. C'est en s'appuyant sur leur présence que les Puissances ont garanti l'emprunt de 9,000,000*l*. L'Angleterre est sincèrement désireuse de retirer ses troupes dans le plus bref délai possible; mais la responsabilité qu'elle a assumée en occupant le pays ne lui permet pas de l'évacuer avant que l'œuvre de la réorganisation ne soit accomplie. Son Excellence conclut en répétant que les forces Britanniques se retireront au fur et à mesure de l'établissement de nouveaux régiments et dès que les deux Commissaires seront d'accord pour reconnaître avec Son Altesse le Khédive que le bon fonctionnement des autorités est

assuré. Sir H. Drummond Wolff ajoute que si les troupes Anglaises se retiraient plus tôt il serait possible qu'une autre Puissance allât occuper l'Égypte.

Les Ministres Ottomans relèvent une contradiction qu'ils ont cru remarquer dans les expressions de son Excellence Sir H. Drummond Wolff qui, tout en déclarant que les troupes Anglaises se retireraient au fur et à mesure de l'arrivée ou de l'établissement de nouveaux régiments, ajoutait que l'évacuation s'effectuerait après que l'Administration aurait commencé à fonctionner sur des bases stables. Leurs Excellences prient en outre leur honorable collègue de leur indiquer quel est le laps de temps qui lui paraîtrait nécessaire après la réorganisation pour le départ des troupes Anglaises.

Son Excellence Sir H. Drummond Wolff explique, en ce qui concerne la contradiction signalée par leurs Excellences les Plénipotentiaires Ottomans, qu'en parlant de l'évacuation qui se ferait après le fonctionnement régulier de l'Administration, il visait l'excédent de troupes qui resterait encore dans le pays après les retraits graduels qui s'effectueraient au fur et à mesure de l'arrivée ou de l'établissement de nouveaux régiments.

Pour ce qui est du laps de temps qui serait nécessaire pour mettre fin à l'occupation, son Excellence répète que le départ des dernières troupes aurait lieu aussitôt que les deux Commissaires auraient constatés, d'accord avec Son Altesse le Khédive, que les institutions du pays fonctionnent d'une manière satisfaisante.

La suite de la discussion est renvoyée à la prochaine séance, qui est fixée à Mardi, 8 Septembre.

No. 119.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received September 19.)

(No. 28.)

Therapia, September 15, 1885.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to inclose a précis of an article from the "Terjumani Hakikat," drawing the attention of the local press to three points in connection with my mission.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. DRUMMOND WOLFF.

Inclosure in No. 119.

Précis of an Article in the "Terjumani Hakikat" of September 7, 1885.

COMMENTING on the statements of a portion of the local press with regard to Sir Henry Drummond Wolff's mission, the "Terjumani Hakikat" observes that the attention of the press should be confined to the following three points:—

1. The remarks of the European press are of no further importance now that Sir Drummond Wolff is here, and that we are in a position to give Europe information.

2. As shown by Sir Drummond Wolff's speeches and official documents, his mission does not extend beyond the Egyptian question; and

3. The sovereign rights of the Porte will be respected.

No. 120.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received September 19.)

(No. 29. Most Confidential.)

Therapia, September 15, 1885.

My Lord,

ON Thursday last I went to the Porte with the view of holding our ordinary meeting. There was a misunderstanding on the subject, as I was under the impression that a telegram was to inform me if it were put off, and the Plenipotentiaries believed that the meeting was not to take place unless they summoned it in the same manner.

At the time of my arrival they were having an interview with the Grand Vizier, and I was requested to wait, which I did for more than an hour.

The Plenipotentiaries, when explaining the delay, produced a document, a copy of which is inclosed, purporting to be a Protocol of our sitting on the 8th, at which we had agreed there were to be no more Protocols. My impression is that it was hurriedly prepared during the time I was waiting. It tends to confirm a report that had reached me of the Grand Vizier having given an undertaking to the Sultan to obtain from me all the concessions His Imperial Majesty might require; and the first step in this direction was therefore to present, as proposals made by me, concessions desired by them, so as to enable them to propose still further diminutions.

Thus I am made to suggest the suspension of formal discussions, and I am equally made to suggest that the evacuation of our troops should follow on the reorganization of the Egyptian army, a suggestion I had promptly negatived at our preliminary sitting.

I at once remonstrated against this document, on which their Excellencies requested me to formulate proposals which they would submit to His Imperial Majesty the Sultan.

My object from the first has been that any suggestions I might make should appear as the result of a joint understanding between the Plenipotentiaries and myself as to bases which could be submitted *ad referendum* both to the Sultan and to your Lordship. I therefore thought the best way of carrying out this object was to give in a counter-Protocol. This I was unable to prepare, as I had hoped, before the Selamlik on Friday, at which time the Plenipotentiaries expected it, but on Saturday I requested Mr. Cartwright to call on Assim Pasha with the draft Protocol, copy of which I inclose.

On presenting himself to Assim Pasha, his Excellency stated that it had been agreed there were to be no more Protocols, and declined to receive it, begging Mr. Cartwright to press upon me the urgency of sending in the Memorandum they desired, and on Sunday I received from Assim Pasha a letter, and yesterday a telegram, in the same sense, copies of which are inclosed.

Meanwhile, I had sent to his Excellency a private letter, which I have the honour to transmit, and later I forwarded a note, founded on my draft of counter-Protocol, and which I requested Mr. Marinich to convey himself to the Porte, communicating at the same time to the Plenipotentiaries the substance of an instruction I had given him.

Copies of these documents are inclosed, together with copies of a Report made by Mr. Marinich, and of a further explanatory instruction I have given him in consequence to-day.

A report has reached me, but from no very good source, that the Porte intend to communicate with your Lordship through Musurus Pasha.

I have, &c.

(Signed) H. DRUMMOND WOLFF.

Inclosure 1 in No. 120.

Draft Protocol prepared by the Turkish Plenipotentiaries.

Séance du 8 Septembre, 1885.

AFIN de ne point prolonger les débats en discussions oiseuses, Sir H. Drummond Wolff propose d'arriver à un arrangement en vertu duquel un Commissaire Ottoman se rendrait en Égypte pour réorganiser, de concert avec Son Altesse le Khédive et un Commissaire Anglais, l'armée Égyptienne avec des éléments indigènes et les hommes dont Sa Majesté Impériale le Sultan permettrait le recrutement en Turquie.

Cette armée devrait être mise sur un pied pouvant assurer le maintien de l'ordre public et la sûreté des frontières, et amener ensuite l'évacuation du pays par les troupes Britanniques.

Le Commissaire Ottoman aviserait en même temps aux moyens d'apaiser le Soudan par des voies pacifiques en tenant le Commissaire Anglais [? à même] des mesures qu'il prendrait à cet effet et avec la condition que la Traite des Nègres ne serait pas permise.

Les Commissaires examineraient en outre l'état de choses existant en Égypte

soit pour confirmer la situation actuelle, soit pour y apporter les modifications qu'ils reconnaîtraient nécessaires.

Le tout en conformité et sur la base des droits de souveraineté de Sa Majesté Impériale le Sultan.

Il prie les Ministres Ottomans de lui faire connaître les propositions qu'ils auraient à faire en vue d'un pareil arrangement.

Inclosure 2 in No. 120.

Draft Protocol prepared by Sir H. Drummond Wolff.

AFIN de ne point prolonger les débats en discussions oiseuses, leurs Excellences les Plénipotentiaires Ottomans proposent que les discussions soient faites sans Protocoles, de manière à ce que les deux Parties pourraient arriver à un arrangement après avoir échangé leurs vues en général.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff accepte la discussion sous ce point de vue, et demande à MM. les Plénipotentiaires Ottomans si les bases doivent être celles qui semblent résulter des discussions antérieures, c'est-à-dire, qu'un Commissaire Ottoman se rendrait en Égypte avec la mission suivante:—

1. D'aviser, de concert avec Son Altesse le Khédive et avec un Représentant de Sa Majesté Britannique, aux moyens d'apaiser le Soudan par des voies pacifiques.

2. De réorganiser sous les ordres de Son Altesse le Khédive et de ses officiers supérieurs, de concert avec Son Altesse et le Représentant de Sa Majesté Britannique, l'armée Égyptienne avec des éléments indigènes et les hommes dont Sa Majesté Impériale permettrait le recrutement en Turquie. Cette armée devrait être mise sur un pied propre à assurer le maintien de l'ordre et la sûreté des frontières après l'évacuation du pays par les troupes Britanniques.

3. Les Commissaires examineraient en outre, de concert avec Son Altesse le Khédive, l'état des choses existant en Égypte soit pour confirmer la situation actuelle, soit pour y apporter les modifications qu'ils reconnaîtraient nécessaires. Le tout en conformité et sur la base des Firmans et des Traités et des obligations internationales, prises par Son Altesse le Khédive et en conformité et sur la base des droits de souveraineté de Sa Majesté Impériale le Sultan.

Les Commissaires, de concert avec Son Altesse le Khédive, dès qu'ils auront reconnu que l'état de la force armée Égyptienne se trouve à même de maintenir l'ordre intérieur ainsi que la sûreté des frontières, et après avoir constaté l'état satisfaisant de toutes les branches de l'Administration en Égypte, devront en outre soumettre un rapport unanime à leurs Gouvernements, pouvant servir de base à une Convention ultérieure qui permettrait l'évacuation du pays par les troupes de Sa Majesté Britannique.

Les Plénipotentiaires Ottomans demandent si les négociations pour l'apaisement du Soudan par des voies pacifiques pourraient être poursuivies par le Commissaire Ottoman seul.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff répond qu'un arrangement pourrait avoir lieu plus tard pour la conduite des négociations, pourvu que les Commissaires Anglais et Égyptiens fussent tenus au courant de chaque détail des négociations, et que rien ne puisse être conclu sans leur assentiment. Il fait ressortir en même temps la nécessité de prendre des mesures en vue d'empêcher la Traite des Nègres.

De plus il a demandé que MM. les Plénipotentiaires Ottomans présentent en même temps toute stipulation additionnelle qu'ils voudraient introduire au projet d'arrangement.

La discussion est acceptée sur ces bases et MM. les Plénipotentiaires Ottomans se déclarent prêts à présenter un projet conçu dans ce sens.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff demande à ses collègues par quel acte et dans quelle forme ils désirent que l'entente soit consignée.

Leurs Excellences répondent qu'ils préfèrent la forme d'une Convention.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff dit que pour ce qui le concerne toute proposition doit être considérée *ad referendum*.

Inclosure 3 in No. 120.

Assim Pasha to Sir H. Drummond Wolff.

(Particulière.)

Sublime Porte, le 13 *Septembre*, 1885.

Chère Excellence,

LE travail que Mr. Cartwright nous a montré hier ne nous ayant pas paru conforme au Mémorandum que vous aviez bien voulu nous promettre pour la journée de Vendredi, nous l'avons prié, mon collègue et moi, de faire part à votre Excellence de nos observations.

Comme votre Excellence s'est montrée toute aussi désireuse que nous de voir les négociations se poursuivre avec rapidité, je crois devoir lui confirmer le message que Mr. Cartwright s'est chargé de lui porter en exprimant l'espoir qu'elle voudra bien nous envoyer, sous la forme indiquée, le Mémorandum promis, afin que nous puissions nous réunir au plus tôt.

Dans cette attente, je prie votre Excellence d'agréer, &c.

(Signé) ASSIM.

Inclosure 4 in No. 120.

Assim Pasha to Sir H. Drummond Wolff.

Le 14 *Septembre*, 1885.

(Télégraphique.)

NOUS espérons recevoir aujourd'hui le document promis par votre Excellence, et nous lui serions obligés si elle voulait bien nous faire l'honneur de venir elle-même nous voir dans l'après-midi.

Inclosure 5 in No. 120.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to Assim Pasha.

Thérapia, le 13 *Septembre*, 1885.

Chère Excellence,

COMME le petit Mémoire que vous m'avez donné l'autre jour en guise de Protocole ne répondait pas tout-à-fait à mes souvenirs de notre dernière conversation, j'avais dressé un Protocole, croyant qu'il pourrait également servir de base pour notre entente. Mr. Cartwright me dit que votre Excellence et Kiamil Pacha ne désirent pas de Protocole; je considérerai dès lors le Mémoire que vous m'avez donné, ainsi que mon contre-Projet, comme nuls et non avenus.

Je suis en train de préparer une note pour les Plénipotentiaires par laquelle j'expose les bases qui serviraient à compléter un arrangement conformément à nos discussions. Je vous l'enverrai dans l'après-midi de demain ou de très bonne heure Mardi.

Croyez-moi, &c.

(Signé) H. DRUMMOND WOLFF.

P.S. *Le* 14 *Septembre.*—Je viens de recevoir votre lettre, et je vous enverrai la note cet après-midi aussitôt que j'aurai reçu les lettres par le courrier qui est arrivé ce matin.

H. D. W.

Inclosure 6 in No. 120.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Turkish Plenipotentiaries.

Therapia, September 14, 1885.

MM. les Plénipotentiaires,

AS it was agreed between us that in order to avoid the unnecessary prolongation of our discussions it would be desirable for us to arrive at an understanding after a general exchange of views, I have the honour to inform your Excellencies that I shall be ready to refer to the Marquis of Salisbury the draft of an arrangement for the solution of the complications now existing in Egypt, based on the general tenour of the conversations I have had the honour of holding with your Excellencies.

It is useless for me to point out to your Excellencies in detail the difficulties with which the Egyptian question is surrounded. But I think it my duty to call the attention of your Excellencies to their pressing gravity, in the hope that we shall soon arrive at a solution of these complications.

I expect to-day the return to Besika Bay of the vessel by which I am to be conveyed to Alexandria, and it will be difficult for me to prolong my stay at Constantinople for an indefinite period, as my presence in Egypt is daily becoming more necessary.

The very fact of the mission with which I have had the honour of being charged by Her Majesty the Queen and Empress to His Imperial Majesty the Sultan of itself establishes in the clearest manner the desire of Her Majesty and Her Majesty's Government to recognize and consult in every respect the sovereign rights of His Imperial Majesty.

Your Excellencies will find that the bases which I now have the honour to submit to you as the result of our discussions largely demonstrate this desire, and I therefore indulge in the hope that they may recommend themselves to the exalted wisdom of His Imperial Majesty.

Consequently, I have the honour to lay before you the following points:—

An Ottoman Commissioner shall be appointed to proceed to Egypt—

1. To concert with His Highness the Khedive and with a Representative of Her Britannic Majesty as to the best means of tranquillizing the Soudan by pacific means.

2. In concert with His Highness the Khedive and the Representative of Her Britannic Majesty, to reorganize, under the orders of His Highness and of his officers, the Egyptian army, His Imperial Majesty the Sultan being graciously pleased to authorize a recruitment for this purpose among the populations of his Empire. This army must be placed on such a footing as to assure the maintenance of order, and the security of the frontiers after the evacuation of the country by the British troops.

3. The Commissioners will further examine, in concert with His Highness the Khedive, the state of things existing in Egypt, with the view either of confirming the present situation or of introducing therein such modifications as they may consider necessary. This to be done in conformity with and on the bases of the Firmans and Treaties and of the international obligations undertaken by His Highness the Khedive, and in conformity with and on the basis of the sovereign rights of His Imperial Majesty the Sultan.

4. The Commissioners, in concert with His Highness the Khedive, as soon as they are satisfied that the state of the armed force in Egypt is such as to sufficiently provide for the preservation of internal order and the security of the frontiers, and also that the different branches of the Administration are firmly and solidly established so as to give guarantees of good government, shall together submit a Report to their Governments to serve as a basis for a further Convention which shall regulate the evacuation of the country by the troops of Her Britannic Majesty.

5. The Commissioners, in concert with His Highness the Khedive, will take measures for the prevention and suppression of the Slave Trade.

Thus, MM. les Plénipotentiaires, I have had the honour to state to your Excellencies the heads of the agreement we have discussed, such as I am prepared to submit them to the immediate consideration of my Government as soon as His Imperial Majesty the Sultan shall have given to them his high approbation and his Imperial assent.

As I understand from your Excellencies that it would be desired to record the agreement as finally settled in a Convention, I should be glad to learn whether the Government of His Imperial Majesty the Sultan would wish to modify or add to the heads of the agreement as above stated, as well as the nature of such additions or modifications.

I avail, &c.

(Signed) H. DRUMMOND WOLFF.

Inclosure 7 in No. 120.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to Mr. Marinich.

Therapia, September 14, 1885.

Sir,

I REQUEST you to be good enough to convey to his Excellency Assim Pasha and to his Excellency Kiamil Pasha the note that I have addressed to them, detailing the bases of understanding on the affairs of Egypt which I am prepared to submit to Her Majesty's Government.

Will you call the attention of their Excellencies to the circumstance that the note is addressed to them in English, and, although I have no reason to believe that there is any misinterpretation of my words in the French translation, my signature is affixed only to the English text?

In delivering this note to their Excellencies, I would beg you to state to them, with respect to that portion of it asking for information as to any modifications or additions they may wish to make in the heads of agreement, that I should be unable to transmit to my Government, even *ad referendum*, any proposal for a term to be fixed to the evacuation of Egypt by Her Majesty's troops.

I am, &c.

(Signed) H. DRUMMOND WOLFF.

Inclosure 8 in No. 120.

Mr. Marinich to Sir H. Drummond Wolff.

Therapia, September 14, 1885.

Sir,

IN obedience to your Excellency's instructions, conveyed to me in your letter of to-day's date, I have the honour to report that I have handed over this afternoon to their Excellencies Assim Pasha and Kiamil Pasha the note that your Excellency addressed to them detailing the bases of understanding in the affairs of Egypt.

I have, at the same time, called the attention of their Excellencies to the circumstance that, the said note being addressed to them in English, your signature is affixed to it and not to the French translation which accompanies it.

I have also stated to their Excellencies that your Excellency would be unable to transmit to Her Majesty's Government, even *ad referendum*, any proposal for a term to be fixed to the evacuation of Egypt by Her Majesty's troops.

The Turkish Plenipotentiaries stated, in reply, that the Sublime Porte was very anxious to bring matters to a speedy conclusion, and, in order to prove it, his Excellency Assim Pasha reminded me of the letter and telegram he has addressed to your Excellency with a view to accelerate the dispatch of the note.

Owing to the fact that your Excellency's note mentions some heads which have not yet been discussed in the sittings held at the Porte, as, for instance, the international obligations contracted by the Khedive, the question of the evacuation of Egypt by British troops, the Convention to be made in the future relative to the said evacuation and other points, the Ottoman Plenipotentiaries consider it necessary to be supplied with further instructions in order to enable them to discuss these fresh questions. They will therefore immediately ask the Grand Vizier for them, and as soon as they are ready to resume the discussion they will telegraph to your Excellency accordingly.

If your Excellency, concluded Assim Pasha, wishes to go to-morrow to the Sublime Porte at 3 o'clock, as telegraphed by your Excellency, the Ottoman Plenipotentiaries will be very glad to meet you; but they will not be able to discuss the new basis laid down in your Excellency's note for want of further instructions.

Assim Pasha requested me to furnish him with a French translation of your Excellency's instructions to me, which I did, duly authorized by you.

I am, &c.

(Signed) H. MARINICH.

Inclosure 9 in No. 120.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to M. Marinich.

Therapia, September 15, 1885.

Sir,

I HAVE to acknowledge the receipt of your Report of yesterday's date, in which you state that the Ottoman Plenipotentiaries informed you that I had mentioned in my note some heads which had not been discussed in the sittings held at the Porte, as, for instance, "the international obligations contracted by the Khedive, the question of the evacuation of Egypt by British troops, the Convention to be made in the future relative to the said evacuation, and other points."

In consequence, I request you to be good enough to point out to their Excellencies that all these points have been discussed by us except that of the ulterior Convention, and that the discussion has been recorded in the Protocol, copy of which was given me by their Excellencies.

I am, &c.

(Signed) H. DRUMMOND WOLFF.

No. 121.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir H. Drummond Wolff.

(No. 22.)

Foreign Office, September 22, 1885.

Sir,

YOUR despatch No. 26, Confidential, of the 9th instant, has been received and laid before the Queen, and I have to express to you my approval of the language held by you to the French Ambassador on the subject of the attitude of France with regard to the Egyptian question, as reported therein.

I am, &c.

(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 122.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir H. Drummond Wolff.

(No. 23.)

Foreign Office, September 22, 1885.

Sir,

I HAVE received and laid before the Queen your despatch marked No. 29, Most Confidential, of the 15th instant, giving an account of the progress of your negotiations with your Turkish colleagues, and of the difficulties which have occurred on various points of form.

I have to express to you my approval of the terms of your communications to Assym Pasha and Kiamil Pasha, as recorded in that despatch.

I am, &c.

(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 123.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Mr. Egerton.

(No. 303.)

Foreign Office, September 22, 1885.

Sir,

SIR HENRY DRUMMOND WOLFF, G.C.M.G., M.P., has been accredited by the Queen as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to His Imperial Majesty the Sultan on a special mission having reference to the affairs of Egypt.

On the termination of his negotiations at Constantinople, Sir H. D. Wolff will proceed to Egypt. He will be the bearer of a letter from me to the Khedive notifying the nature of his mission.

I have to request that you will, on his arrival, place the staff of Her Majesty's Agency and Consulate-General at his disposal.

As it is important that the utmost consideration should be shown to the mission with which Sir H. D. Wolff has been intrusted by Her Majesty's Government, I think it better that while he is in Egypt all communications to the Egyptian Government should be made by him, or by his authority; and, in the same way, that he

should conduct the correspondence of the Agency with Her Majesty's Government except on current business of a non-political character.

I rely upon your giving him during his stay in Egypt all the assistance in your power.

I am, &c.
(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 124.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir H. Drummond Wolff.

(No. 24.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, September* 23, 1885.

I HAVE received your despatch No. 25 of the 9th instant, reporting that you had confidentially informed the Italian Ambassador that you had no instructions to discuss with the Porte the question of the occupation of Massowah by Italy, and I have to express my approval of the language held by you to his Excellency on the subject.

I am, &c.
(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 125.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received September 26.)

(No. 30. Confidential.)

My Lord, *Therapia, September* 17, 1885.

IN my despatch No. 29 of the 15th instant, I forwarded to your Lordship copy of an instruction to Mr. Marinich, desiring him to point out to the Turkish Plenipotentiaries that the proposals contained in my note of the 14th instant had entered into our discussions at the first meeting.

I have now the honour to inclose Mr. Marinich's Report of his interview with their Excellencies.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. DRUMMOND WOLFF.

Inclosure in No. 125.

Mr. Marinich to Sir H. Drummond Wolff.

Sir, *Therapia, September* 15, 1885.

I HAVE the honour to report that I have waited to-day on Assym Pasha and Kiamil Pasha, and have pointed out to their Excellencies that the points which have reference to the international obligations contracted by the Khedive and the question of the evacuation of Egypt by British troops were discussed in the meetings held at the Porte, and that the discussion was recorded in the Protocol, copy of which was given to your Excellency by them.

Their Excellencies stated, in reply, that the reference to the international obligations contracted by the Khedive was added by your Excellency when the Protocol was read in the next sitting.

As regards the question of the evacuation of Egypt by Her Majesty's troops, their Excellencies pointed out to me that this question, which is also mentioned in the draft Protocol of the first meeting, was stated in your Excellency's note in a different manner from that in which it stands in the declarations recorded in the draft Protocol.

On these grounds, their Excellencies consider themselves bound to ask for fresh instructions from their Government, and they expressed the hope that they would soon be able to resume the discussion with your Excellency.

Their Excellencies requested me to furnish them with a French translation of your Excellency's instructions to me, which I did, duly authorized by you.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. MARINICH.

No. 126.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received September 26.)

(No. 31. Confidential.)

My Lord, *Therapia, September* 18, 1885.

LAST night I went to a reception at the Austrian Embassy, when the Austrian Ambassador spoke to me of a conversation he had held in the morning with the Minister for Foreign Affairs.

His Excellency said that Assym Pasha had expressed his belief that our negotiations would end satisfactorily, but he desired that if I could not agree to a fixed term for the evacuation absolutely such a term could be fixed, with certain conditions proposed on a former occasion, the details of which had escaped the Ambassador's recollection.

This morning Mr. Foster, who had missed me yesterday, called by appointment. He told me he had yesterday been summoned to the Palace, and there found that the Sultan was much irritated by two statements made by me in my note, one to the effect that Her Majesty's ship "Iris" was ready for me at Besika Bay, the other that I would not forward to your Lordship any proposal for a fixed term of evacuation.

Mr. Foster was of opinion that some attempt had been made to irritate His Imperial Majesty against me from some hostile quarter, perhaps by the Grand Vizier. The Sultan said I had come with soft words and professions, but that in substance my proposals were the same as those previously made to him, that the allusion to the "Iris" was an improper way of bringing pressure on him, and that he had in his own hands quite sufficient power to pacify Egypt and the Soudan if we would once fix a term for evacuation. As it happens, the passage relating to the "Iris" was inserted at the suggestion of the two Plenipotentiaries, and I cannot tell whether the object they had in the suggestion was a good one or a bad one.

It is probable that the Ministers, who, I have little doubt, as reported in my telegram, sent a favourable Report on my proposals to the Sultan, are anxious to throw on His Imperial Majesty any responsibility for delay or failure.

I begged Mr. Foster to take down in his own handwriting the Memorandum of the answer I made to him, and this was as follows:—

"Sir H. Drummond Wolff's declaration about the ship is owing to the fact that there are circumstances independent of his mission here which demand his presence in Egypt, and he thinks that His Majesty will find that the presence of Sir H. Drummond Wolff there will have a good effect. With respect to the evacuation, it will be seen that Her Majesty's Government are under international obligations which make it incumbent on them to remain in Egypt until order is completely restored. In fact, the Powers recently guaranteed a loan evidently on the faith that England was to take care that the collection of the taxes and the several financial arrangements were such as to secure the proper service of the Loan. With regard to the evacuation, Sir H. Drummond Wolff would be prepared to make such declarations as would satisfy the Sultan of the good faith of Her Majesty's Government in the desire they express to be enabled to evacuate whenever the state of the country would admit of it. It would therefore be desirable that Sir H. Drummond Wolff should be requested by the Ottoman Plenipotentiaries or the Grand Vizier to give such explanations as would satisfy His Imperial Majesty of the desire of the English Government to carry out the arrangements in the sense of the words and expressions that Sir H. Drummond Wolff had employed both to His Imperial Majesty and his Ministers."

Mr. Foster will to-morrow go to Yildis and repeat the words I have used in the proper quarter. He informed me that, seeing the great stress laid by the Sultan on the fixed term, he had suggested that a term might be fixed, say, of three years, and that the evacuation might take place subject to the condition that the state of things then existing were such as to permit it.

I made no answer to this suggestion, but I would submit to your Lordship's consideration whether some words might be found which should meet the Sultan's views, while reserving to Her Majesty's Government practically free action.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. DRUMMOND WOLFF.

No. 127.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received September 26.)

(No. 32.)

My Lord, *Therapia, September* 22, 1885.

AN Arab gentleman, whom I have already mentioned to your Lordship more than once, has given me some more detailed information on the subject of the Sheikhs at the Palace and their value.

There are at present at the Palace four or five Sheikhs, who guide the Sultan in all political matters connected with the Arabs.

The first is the Sheikh Mohammed Zaffar. He it was who kept up a constant correspondence, in the name of the Sultan, with Arabi. Some of this, I believe, appeared in the "Times." He is, I am assured, not corrupt, but is actuated by some jealousy of the Sheikh Senoussi, who is the Head of a religious sect widely spread, associated by Masonic signs and words, and numbering, according to my informant, some four millions. Sheikh Senoussi's mosques are, it is said, exempted from taxes in Egypt, while the one or two mosques following Sheikh Zaffar are taxed. Were this removed, it is said Sheikh Zaffar would be reconciled to the Khedive, to whom he is now opposed. He is described as being the most influential of all. He sees the Sultan even in his harem, and sleeps in the Sultan's own room when His Imperia Majesty is in fear of a conspiracy. He is on the worst terms with the Khedive, who knows it. He is an Arabist and Mahdist, and strongly opposed to England.

The next is Ahmed Assaad, who was twice sent to Cairo on a Special Mission, once alone and once with the Ottoman Commissioner. He is corrupt, and has received money both from Tewfik and from Halim. While in Egypt he was in favour of the Khedive and opposed Arabi. He now supports Halim, and is opposed to England.

The third is Essaid Fazul, of the Somali. He was raised to the rank of Vizier and made Emir of Zaffar. He was connected with the Indian Mutiny. About twenty years ago he ran away to Mecca. He is the bitter enemy of England.

The fourth is Abdullah Pasha, described to me as Prince Sherif-Heritier of Mecca. He does not live at the Palace, but receives an allowance of about £ T. 300 a-month. He is supported at the Palace by Zaffar, and therefore shares his views.

Last comes Aboul Houda, a Sheikh of Aleppo. He is an anti-Arabist, in strict relations with Prince Halim. Very much opposed to England and in favour of Russia. His influence is not large or wide.

Notwithstanding the views of these Sheikhs, they will always act in accordance with the feelings of their brethren, whether in Egypt, Syria, Mecca, Tunis, or elsewhere, with whom they are in constant communication, not by post, but by special couriers, wandering Sheikhs, who bring them news, and in return spread their views. They will be ready to support English policy in Cairo should England satisfy the wishes of their brethren in Cairo. These views should be ascertained from the Sheikhs, Ulema, &c., at Cairo direct, and without any intermediary.

The Mussulman element in Egypt would in such case give not only their own support, but that of Mecca, to British policy in India. The English Government should not ignore that in the event of war between England and Russia the whole Mahommedan element in India, Afghanistan, and Central Asia would be against England should her relations with the Ulema and Sheikhs at Cairo not be altered. In the event of war between England and Russia, the latter may obtain from some great Mahommedan Sheikh a Fetwa, and with it combat the English through the Mahommedan element.

The foregoing is taken almost textually from a secret Report made to me by the Arab gentleman in question, and the information contained in it, less the personal details, were given me, as he said, at the request of the Sheikhs of the Palace. They also requested him to add some anecdotes showing the power exercised by them and those of their class. These are nearly his own words:—

1. Mohamed Aly Pasha, first Viceroy of Egypt, could only become Viceroy through the influence of the Sheikhs of Cairo, especially the head Sheikh of the Azhar (Mosque and University). Mohamed Aly, then Aly Agha, had under his orders as a captain 400 men given to him by Hosro Pasha, the Vali of Egypt. He then, through his wonderful intelligence, had 1,000 men under him. Before aiming at becoming Viceroy he gained the friendship of Sheikhs, and once having gained their friendship they revolted against Hosro. When Hosro fled, the Sheikhs, at the instigation of the head Sheikh of the Azhar, drew up a Mazbata (Petition) to the Sultan, asking him to appoint Mohamed Aly as their Governor. The Sultan consulted the Ministers, who replied that the demand of the Sheikhs of the Azhar could not be rejected, and thus Mohamed Aly became Vizier and Viceroy.

The Bey of Tunis, under the Sultan Mahmoud, used to pay a tribute to the Porte, but wanted to annul it, and have certain privileges.

He sent a great Sheikh, who saw the Sultan Mahmoud and the Sheikhs. The Sultan at once granted all that the Envoy demanded.

Sultan Mustapha, on the advice of his Ministers, wanted to massacre all the Slavs of Bulgaria and Roumelia if they did not embrace Islamism. He (the Sultan) asked the Sheikh-El-Islam for a Fetwa, but the Sheikh refused to grant it, and the Sultan could not execute his wishes.

The same Sultan wanted to kill the Greeks of Jerusalem, and the Governor consented. But a certain Sheikh-El-Khaledy refused to give a Fetwa, and the project was abandoned.

The war with Russia, the dethronement of Aziz and of Mourad, could only be effected by a Fetwa from the Sheikh-el-Islam, and assistance to Turkey from any particular Mussulman country can only be rendered on a Fetwa from the Sheikhs of the countries from which the assistance is required.

Such is the information given to me by this gentleman, and purporting, as I have said, to be a message from the Sheikhs of the Palace.

On touching very lightly with the Plenipotentiaries on the influence of the Sheikhs and the Azhar, Assym Pasha was very anxious to prove to me that they were nothing without the Sultan, who held them completely in his hand.

From what I hear, however, such is not the case. I learn, on what is to my mind as good authority as can be obtained, that the Sultan some time since sent to the Arab tribes to ascertain whether they would support him in Egypt against the population and the English. The answer was in the negative. They said that he had shown himself so undecided in his conduct towards Arabi and the Nationalist party, first encouraging and then deserting them, that they would have no more dealings with him.

No doubt in much of what my informant tells me there is the exaggeration of advocacy and passion. But everything I can learn tends to confirm me in my conviction that the only method of pacifying Egypt, and saving it from attack, will be in conciliating the Arab feeling, both in Egypt Proper and the Soudan, and for such a purpose enlisting the sympathies of the Sheikhs.

Whether Egypt be occupied by us, or have an army of its own, the finances of the country can never sustain a force sufficient to contend with constant disorder at home or constant invasion from without, whenever the Arabs, if hostile, thought fit to attack the fellaheen.

On the very low and practical ground of expense alone, I think the view I have taken is a sound one.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. DRUMMOND WOLFF.

No. 128.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received September 26.)

(No. 33. Confidential.)

My Lord, *Therapia, September* 22, 1885.

I HAVE the honour to report that, owing to the recent events in Bulgaria and Eastern Roumelia, and to the Kourban-Baïram holidays, I have not yet received any reply from the Turkish Plenipotentiaries to the note which I addressed to them on the 14th instant, copy of which was inclosed in my despatch No. 29 of the 15th instant.

On the 20th I requested Mr. Marinich to convey a friendly message to Assym Pasha, saying that I was anxious not to trouble his Excellency at the present moment, but that I should be glad if he could let me know whether it was probable that the negotiations would soon be resumed.

I yesterday received from Mr. Marinich a Report of his interview with Assym Pasha, copy of which I have now the honour to inclose, for your Lordship's information.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. DRUMMOND WOLFF

Inclosure in No. 128.

Report by Mr. Marinich.

ASSYM PACHA m'a dit aujourd'hui que, se conformant aux indications du Grand Vizir, il a communiqué par écrit à son Altesse le but de ma visite de hier. Saïd Pacha s'est empressé de transmettre au Sultan le Rapport collectif que lui ont adressé à cet effet les Plénipotentiaires Ottomans et dans lequel leurs Excellences ont représenté le but de ma démarche d'une manière habile de façon à pouvoir provoquer une prompte réponse de la part de Sa Majesté. Des paroles d'Assym Pacha j'ai cru comprendre que le Ministre désire que votre Excellence veuille bien faire un peu de patience pour ne pas faire croire que l'Angleterre voudrait exercer une pression en présence des évènements de la Bulgarie.

Le Conseil des Ministres, m'a ajouté Assym Pacha, va prendre, entre aujourd'hui et demain, une décision sur la question Bulgare, et son Excellence est portée à croire qu'après cela Sa Majesté autorisera les Plénipotentiaires Ottomans à reprendre les négociations.

Le 21 *Septembre*, 1885.

No. 129.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received September 26.)

(No. 34. Confidential.)

My Lord, *Therapia, September* 22, 1885.

WITH reference to my despatch No. 31 of the 18th instant, I have the honour to inform your Lordship that the Austrian Ambassador, at a subsequent interview, referred again to his conversation with Assym Pasha on the subject of the evacuation of Egypt by the British troops.

His Excellency said that Assym Pasha had suggested that the evacuation should take place in accordance with the terms of the Agreement concluded between Lord Granville and M. Waddington previous to the Conference of London in 1884, namely, "That the withdrawal of the troops should take place at the beginning of the year 1888, provided that the Powers are then of opinion that such withdrawal can take place without risk to peace and order."

That Agreement is recorded, as your Lordship is aware, in Lord Granville's note of the 16th June, 1884, and accepted in M. Waddington's reply of the following day.

I have, &c.

(Signed) H. DRUMMOND WOLFF.

No. 130.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received September 26, 10·30 P.M.)

(No. 44.)

(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, September* 26, 1885, 7 P.M.

GRAND VIZIER sends me word that his first act was to speak to Sultan about Egyptian negotiations. His Imperial Majesty instructed him to consider the papers again himself, and he proposes to lay matter to-morrow before the Council. I am to see his Highness very early to-morrow. Sultan will not delay issue of Iradé as soon as he receives Grand Vizier's Report.

No. 131.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received September 27, 6·30 P.M.)

(No. 45. Confidential.)

(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, September* 27, 1885, 3·25 P.M.

HAVE seen Grand Vizier and Aarifi Pasha. Delegates will be named at once to discuss with me. One of them Aarifi Pasha.

Grand Vizier wants explanation of the term "international engagements of Khedive," so as to know what they are, and whether or no they are within the limits of Firmans and Treaties. Can you let me have this explanation at once?

He also wishes to limit power to recruit in Turkey, or to place it in most general terms, such as "facilities to be given by the Sultan for the reorganization of the Egyptian army." I see no harm in this, but rather an advantage.

Grand Vizier professes himself anxious to begin at once and to settle question as quickly as possible. I told him I hoped the Turkish Commissioner would be a man who would inspire confidence in your Lordship. This he assured me would be the case.

No. 132.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir H. Drummond Wolff.

(No. 20.)

(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, September* 28, 1885, 2·20 P.M.

YOUR telegram No. 45.

The international obligations undertaken by the Khedive must clearly be confined to those which he had a right to undertake under existing Treaties and Firmans. What we want of the Sultan as to soldiers is that he shall engage not to forbid Turkish subjects from enlisting in the Egyptian army.

No. 133.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received September 28, 11 P.M.)

(No. 46. Confidential.)

(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, September* 28, 1885, 8 P.M.

GRAND VIZIER tells me Plenipotentiaries will be named by Iradé to-day or to-morrow—Aarifi Pasha and Server Pasha. I asked whether latter was not Russian, which he denied, saying that he would work well with me. Government very anxious to make an arrangement. Grand Vizier wishes to record arrangement in a Convention, and asks me to ask your Lordship, by telegraph, to send me full powers at once, and to send your Lordship, also by telegraph, the text for approval. I suggested Protocol, but he persisted in his request.

Saïd Pasha and Assim Pasha, whom I also saw, both confirm statement as to Sultan's wish for a settlement.

Please send me an early reply.

No. 134.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir H. Drummond Wolff.

(No. 21.)

(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, September* 30, 1885, 8 A.M.

FULL powers shall be sent to you at once. Please let me have text of proposed Convention. It will require very careful wording, especially in the part which is to refer to the ultimate evacuation of British troops. I should prefer the word "withdrawal," and, instead of the words, "may form a basis," &c., the words should stand, "may, if their Governments think fit, form a basis."

No. 135.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received October 1.)

(No. 47.)

(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, September* 30, 1885.

YOUR telegram No. 21.

Artin Effendi tells me the Iradé will come out at once. Aarifi Pasha does not like to act, as being only temporarily Minister for Foreign Affairs. Sultan has telegraphed several times to-day to Berlin for the new Minister to come home.

May I add to Convention, if I find it required, a declaration to the effect that Her Majesty's Government are resolved to withdraw British troops from Egypt when internal order and safety from invasion are secured on solid basis? If so, please telegraph me the text.

I begged Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to tell Grand Vizier that unless serious progress were made in the negotiations I should leave on Monday week.

No. 136.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir H. Drummond Wolff.

(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, October* 1, 1885, 6 P.M.

YOUR telegram No. 47.

I could not give you authority to record an assurance of the withdrawal of our troops without leave of the Cabinet, which meets on Tuesday.

The harm which such declarations do in Egypt will, I fear, outweigh any advantage they may confer at Constantinople.

No. 137.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received October 2.)

(No. 48.)
(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, October* 1, 1885, 10 P.M.

GRAND VIZIER told me negotiations should proceed at once. Sultan had wished to postpone them till arrival of Minister for Foreign Affairs, but in consequence of my announced departure had allowed them to be hastened. Owing to my objection, Server Pasha is not to be appointed, but Grand Vizier will conduct negotiations himself. Appointment of Commissioner accepted.

It is desired that negotiations with Soudanese should be conducted by Khedive and Turkish Commissioner, only informing English Commissioner of each step.

As the place is to be kept hereafter by them, his Highness considers it right that they should be the active negotiators, under our supervision and counsel. To my mind this is advantageous rather than otherwise.

For recruitment Sultan will give facilities.

On discussing question of withdrawal of troops, I requested Grand Vizier to shorten negotiations by drawing up a draft Convention, which we might discuss Article by Article. To this he assented.

Our first meeting on Saturday. Please reply about Soudanese negotiations.

No. 138.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir H. Drummond Wolff.

(No. 23.)
(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, October* 2, 1885, 1·20 P.M.

YOUR telegram No. 48.

I see no objection to Turkish proposal if it is understood that nothing is settled without English Commissioner's assent.

No. 139.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received October 2, 3·30 P.M.)

(No. 49.)
(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, October* 2, 1885, 2·10 P.M.

YOUR telegram No. 22.

I do not think the assurance will be necessary, so pray consider suggestion withdrawn. All I wanted was something vague to give in exchange for concessions.

I think Grand Vizier now sees how impossible it would be for us to contemplate withdrawal. I have told him that if we did so Egypt would be at the mercy of Powers not so friendly as ourselves. Settlement he fully appreciates.

No. 140.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received October 3.)

(No. 38.)
My Lord, *Therapia, September* 28, 1885.

WITH reference to my despatch No. 33 of the 22nd instant, I have the honour to inform your Lordship that yesterday I had an interview with his Highness Kiamil Pasha, the new Grand Vizier, and with his Highness Aarifi Pasha, the new President of the Council of State, and at present acting as Minister for Foreign Affairs.

His Highness expressed to me the anxious desire of the Sultan and of his Government to expedite an arrangement with Her Majesty's Government in relation to Egypt. But there were two points on which he desired some modifications. The first referred to the phrase "international engagements of the Khedive." To this his Highness found cause to object as being too vague, and as possibly requiring the Sultan to ratify engagements made by the Khedive *ultra vires*, as overstepping the powers given him by the Firmans.

I told his Highness that I should be sorry if he raised a question on this head. The words were of the greatest consequence, as taking away from any third Power the right, or any pretence of a right, to intervene in our arrangements. By securing the validity of all engagements entered into with foreign Powers, and by reserving their rights, no one could call in question any understanding we might arrive at. I promised his Highness full explanations in the matter, but urged him not to raise any difficulties as to the stipulation or the words in which it was drawn up.

The second remark his Highness made was as to the recruitment of troops in Turkey. It seemed to open the door to exorbitant claims which might prove inconvenient, by giving the Egyptian Government the right to open a recruitment of its own in Turkey. His Highness passed eleven years in Egypt on the staff of Abbas Pasha, and in his recollection there had never been any difficulty in obtaining the recruits necessary. It soon became known that they were required, when Albanians and others went of their own accord to Egypt and were enlisted.

I replied that I understood there had been some difficulties raised recently to the enlistment of Albanians, to which his Highness replied that they came from other causes.

I told his Highness that, in my opinion, the difficulties he pointed out might be avoided, either by placing some limitation on the recruitment, or by employing in the first instance some phrase which might be worked into shape later, such as that His Imperial Majesty the Sultan would give facilities for the reconstruction of the Egyptian armies, the details of which could be settled in the final Convention.

I did not say so to the Grand Vizier, but I confess I myself see grave objections to an unrestricted right of recruiting. It could scarcely be expected that the Sultan should allow Egyptian recruiting offices to be opened in his other provinces; nor, on the other hand, is it desirable that too many Turks should be introduced into the ranks of the Egyptian army.

As time is of great consequence in these negotiations, I think it would be expedient so to word the condition in question that, while the principle of recruitment is admitted, the details should be reserved for a later settlement.

His Highness informed me that the matter would be brought without loss of time before the notice of His Imperial Majesty the Sultan, and that two Plenipotentiaries would be appointed, one of whom was to be his Highness Aarifi Pasha.

After leaving the Grand Vizier I paid a visit to Artin Effendi Dadian, the new Musteshar, who told me that all parties were anxious for the conclusion of this business.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. DRUMMOND WOLFF.

P.S.—Since writing the above, I have been glad to receive your Lordship's telegram No. 20 of to-day.

H. D. W.

No. 141.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received October 3.)

(No. 39. Confidential.)

Therapia, September 29, 1885.

My Lord,

YESTERDAY I called on Assim Pasha in Stamboul. His Excellency informed me that the late Government had been most anxious to effect an arrangement with me, and that, but for unforeseen events, it would by this time have been concluded. The Swedish Minister having called shortly after our conversation had commenced, Assim Pasha, following me out of the room, said to me that, as an old friend and colleague, he wished to give me a piece of advice, which was continually to press on the new Grand Vizier, who was very dilatory and procrastinating.

I accordingly went straight to the Porte, where I was fortunate enough to find the Grand Vizier disengaged. His Highness told me the Iradé was being drawn up, and that it would be signed either last night or to-day, and that I should receive notice of it this afternoon. On inquiring the name of the Second Commissioner, he mentioned Server Pasha. I told his Highness that I had always heard that Server Pasha was Russian in feeling. This his Highness denied, adding that he was a very quiet man, and that I should find him very easy to do business with. These were his Highness' words in English, which he speaks with some fluency.

His Highness expressed a wish that the arrangement, whatever it was, should be recorded in a Convention, though I told him that, in my opinion, a Protocol would take less time, and would be equally valid, especially if containing a provision for converting it into a Convention later. His Highness, however, as he had done before, insisted on the form of a Convention, asking me to apply by telegraph to your Lordship for full powers, and to telegraph later the text of the Convention for approval. I promised to communicate with your Lordship at once.

On leaving the Grand Vizier, I called on Saïd Pasha to thank His Highness for the kind manner he had always displayed towards me. His Highness regretted that he was unable, as he had hoped, to conclude the arrangements I had discussed during his administration, and he repeated what Assim Pasha had said, namely, that the Sultan was anxious for an understanding to be arrived at.

During my absence Baron de Thielmann called and saw Mr. Cartwright, whom he informed that he had seen the Grand Vizier and Aarifi Pasha, and had spoken to them generally in support of my views, especially as regards the appointment of a Commissioner.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. DRUMMOND WOLFF.

No. 142.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received October 3.)

(No. 40. Confidential.)

Therapia, September 29, 1885.

My Lord,

WITH reference to my despatch No. 39 of to-day's date, I think it right to state to your Lordship that I am rather alarmed at the nomination of Server Pasha as one of the Plenipotentiaries, the more so, as it may be made the prelude to his appointment as Commissioner in Egypt.

Rightly or wrongly, he is considered to be Russian in his sympathies, and some action of his at the time of the Treaty of San Stefano leads to this inference.

For my part I should like to see Mukhtar Pasha appointed Commissioner, though I do not know him. He is by common consent the best man for the post, and I requested M. de Thielmann the other day to say a word in his favour.

This M. de Thielmann did not consider it possible to do, and even thought his intervention might be disadvantageous. But I should be glad if it were possible to obtain some initiative from a third Power in the matter as, if I took any step myself, it might raise difficulties in doing business with Server Pasha which had best be avoided.

On the other hand, the Grand Vizier assured me that there was no foundation for the suspicion, and I learn from another source that Server Pasha is "avant tout Turc."

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. DRUMMOND WOLFF.

No. 143.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received October 3, 5 P.M.)

(No. 91.)
(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, October 3, 1885, 3·50 P.M.

GRAND VIZIER, accompanied by Artin Effendi, called on me to-day.

We are to meet Monday, when draft Convention will be ready. Artin told me that all was going on well.

No. 144.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received October 4, 2·40 P.M.)

(No. 52.)
(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, October 4, 1885, 1·40 P.M.

GERMAN Ambassador has just called. He says that the Chancellor desires the success of my mission. He says that he has strongly recommended Grand Vizier to agree to my terms. He has not yet had an opportunity of speaking to Sultan about it, as His Imperial Majesty's mind is occupied with other things, but he will send in a message at once through His Majesty's Chief Private Secretary. He will speak to Grand Vizier again to-morrow, and promises at all times his cordial support.

No. 145.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received October 5, 6·15 P.M.)

(No. 53. Confidential.)
(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, October 5, 1885, 5·57 P.M.

AT the invitation of the Grand Vizier, I went to the Porte early this morning to discuss with his Highness Aarifi Pasha the details of Convention.

Following is a rough draft translated from French, and not yet divided into Articles, but which we are to discuss to-morrow as a common basis, both parties reserving right to propose alterations:—

"An Ottoman Commissioner will repair to Egypt to consult ('aviser'), in concert with Khedive, on the best means for pacifying the Soudan by pacific measures. Ottoman Commissioner and Khedive will keep English Commissioner currently informed ('au courant') of the negotiations, and all innovations to be taken as forming part of the general arrangement of Egyptian affairs will be adopted and placed in execution in concert ('d'accord') with English Commissioner.

"The two Commissioners will reorganize, in concert with Khedive, the Egyptian army, and the Imperial Government will grant with this object the facilities which shall be recognized as necessary.

"The two Commissioners, in concert with Khedive, will examine all the branches of the Egyptian Administration, either to confirm the actual situation or to introduce the modifications which they may consider necessary within the limits of Imperial Firmans.

"International engagements contracted by Khedive will be approved by the Ottoman Government in so far as they shall not be contrary to privileges granted by Imperial Firmans.

"So soon as the two Commissioners shall have verified that ('constaté') the good working of Administrations is assured, they shall present a Report to their respective Governments, who will consult as to conclusion of a Convention regulating the withdrawal of the British troops from Egypt in a convenient period ('délai convenable')."

By this last Article the withdrawal of British troops is left perfectly unsettled, and I think I have persuaded the Plenipotentiaries that a period fixed either by time or events is not in interests of Sultan. It was considered desirable not to allude to Slave Trade, on which Conventions are already existing.

I meet Plenipotentiaries again to-morrow at half-past 1 o'clock, and I would request your Lordship to telegraph by Eastern cable.

When shall I receive full powers?

No. 146.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir H. Drummond Wolff.

(No. 24.)
(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, October* 6, 1885, 12·50 P.M.

YOUR telegram received.

Unfortunately I have to be absent for two days. In the meantime, your summary of Convention will be printed, and considered by the Cabinet on Friday.

Proposal for alliance on principles of Lord Palmerston too vague for anything but a general assurance of good-will by way of answer.

Full powers will be sent by messenger Wednesday or Thursday.

No. 147.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received October 6, 2·10 P.M.)

(No. 54. Confidential.)
(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, October* 6, 1885.

HAVE just left Plenipotentiaries. They asked if I had any alteration to make, to which I replied I was without instructions, and I thought your Lordship was consulting the Cabinet. I accepted one small verbal alteration, and I added a provision to give Khedive right to name a Commissioner. A special Council is held to-day on Egypt, and a Report will be sent to-night to the Sultan. On Thursday we meet to discuss Articles.

Please reply by Eastern cable.

No. 148.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received October 6, 11·15 P.M.)

(No. 55.)
(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, October* 6, 1885, 10·7 P.M.

I HAVE received your telegram No. 24 of to-day.

Question of alliance quite apart from question of Convention. It is important that I should receive instructions at once. The draft which I have telegraphed to your Lordship quite in conformity with your instructions. It will be most unfortunate if there is any delay in accepting Convention. It leaves us completely free in Egypt. The only advantage obtained by Sultan is the recognition of the Caliphate, while it gives us his influence as Caliph in arranging Egyptian affairs.

No. 149.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received October 7, 10·55 A.M.)

(No. 56.)
(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, October* 7, 1885, 9·5 A.M.

I EARNESTLY hope there will be no long delay in deciding as to Convention. Not only have I been urging and hastening the Porte to consent to the terms now accepted, but the German and Austrian Ambassadors, especially the former, have done the same at our request. Delay now would place us in a false position with those Powers, and will give time for intrigue to hostile Powers.

No. 150.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received October 8, 4 P.M.)

(No. 57. Confidential.)
(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, October* 8, 1885, 3·17 P.M.

GRAND VIZIER says that Sultan is afraid of exorbitant demands for army, and wants a maximum to be fixed. His Imperial Majesty does not mind sending officers, but fears a drain of recruits for Egyptian army, which may weaken his own forces.

I said that we might, by a simultaneous declaration, fix a maximum, and am telegraphing to Mr. Egerton on the subject. I myself do not think it will be desirable to flood the army with Turks.

Aarifi Pasha being ill, we had not much discussion, but I was shown draft, which is the same as the summary divided into Articles.

Will give you this on Saturday.

First Article provides for nomination of an English and Turkish Commissioner. Grand Vizier wishes them to be called either High Commissioners or Commissioners Extraordinary, at your Lordship's choice. They wish to secure a good man. I should like Moukhtar Pasha, who, however, is not in favour at present.

Please reply by Eastern cable. Turks are now pressing me.

No. 151.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir H. Drummond Wolff.

(No. 25.)
(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, October* 8, 1885, 5·45 P.M.

YOUR telegram No. 57 received.

Am indifferent about title. Convention will be submitted to Cabinet to-morrow.

No. 152.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received October 9.)

(No. 58.)
(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, October* 9, 1885.

MR. EGERTON telegraphs that it is impossible at this moment to obtain exact figure for the Turkish element in the Egyptian army.

I think some satisfactory Protocol might be devised deferring the actual decision till after my arrival in Egypt, and reserving to Sultan a certain voice in the matter. As the organization of army forms one of the conditions of ultimate withdrawal, delay on his part to comply with recommendations of Commissioners would involve delay in withdrawal.

No. 153.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir H. Drummond Wolff.

(No. 26.)
(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, October* 9, 1885, 5·15 P.M.

YOUR telegram No. 53 of 5th.

The Cabinet have considered your draft Convention, which they approve subject to the following amendments:—It should commence with the words, "The following provisions are to be understood as adopted upon the basis and within the limits of existing Imperial Firmans." The IIIrd Article, after "Egyptian Administration," should run thus: "and may introduce the modifications which they consider necessary," &c., omitting the words, "either to confirm the actual situation or to."

In the Vth Article strike out the words, "the good working of Administration is," and insert, "the security of the frontier and the good working and stability of the Egyptian Government are assured."

The Cabinet think that some words confirming existing engagements on the subject of the Slave Trade should be inserted.

No. 154.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir H. Drummond Wolff.

(No. 32. Ext. 26.)

Foreign Office, October 9, 1885.

Sir,

I INFORMED you to-day by telegraph that the Cabinet have considered the draft Convention a translation of which was forwarded in your telegraphic despatch No. 53 of the 5th instant, and have approved of it, subject to the following amendments:—

1. The Convention should commence with the words:—

"The following provisions are to be understood as adopted upon the basis and within the limits of existing Imperial Firmans."

2. Article III should run as follows:—

"The two Commissioners, in concert with the Khedive, will examine all the branches of the Egyptian Administration, and may introduce the modifications which they may consider necessary within the limits of Imperial Firmans," omitting the words, "either to confirm the actual situation or to," &c.

3. In Article V the words, "the good working of the Administration is," should be struck out, and the following substituted for them: "the security of the frontier and the good working and stability of the Egyptian Government are assured."

Lastly, the Cabinet are of opinion that some confirmation of existing arrangements on the subject of the Slave Trade should be inserted in the proposed Convention.

I am, &c.

(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 155.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir H. Drummond Wolff.

(No. 27.)
(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, October 9, 1885, 7·25 P.M.

AS to recruiting in Turkey, you might engage by a Protocol that it should not be excessive, and promise that when you arrived in Egypt an agreement as to the number should be made.

No. 156.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir H. Drummond Wolff.

(No. 33. Ext. 27.)

Foreign Office, October 9, 1885.

Sir,

WITH reference to the suggestion contained in your telegraphic despatch No. 58 of to-day's date, as to the means to be devised to induce the Sultan to agree to recruiting in Turkey for the Egyptian army, I authorized you to-day, by telegraph, to make an engagement on behalf of Her Majesty's Government, which might be embodied in a Protocol, to the effect that such recruiting should not be excessive, and to undertake that on your arrival in Egypt an agreement should be made as to the number of Turkish recruits to be enrolled in the Khedive's army.

I am, &c.

(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 157.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received October 9, 10·30 P.M.)

(No. 59. Confidential.)
(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, October 9, 1885, 6·50 P.M.

THE French Ambassador told me to-day that he and his Government have always wished for success to my mission, which he hoped would do away with the last obstacle to a complete understanding between the two countries on Eastern affairs. I said that your Lordship desired me to consult French interests in all I did, and that I hoped the best relations would exist between M. Barrère and myself. He said he would write accordingly to French Consul-General at Cairo.

No. 158.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received October 10.)

(No. 41. Confidential.)

Therapia, October 2, 1885.

My Lord,

YESTERDAY I had an interview with the Grand Vizier. His Highness said that the Sultan had wished to postpone the negotiations with me till after the arrival of the new Minister for Foreign Affairs from Berlin; but that, hearing of my desire to proceed as quickly as possible to Egypt, he had directed the negotiations to be hastened. In deference to the objections I had made to Server Pasha, the force of which his Highness admitted, it was no longer intended to appoint him a Plenipotentiary, and his Highness would himself confer with me on the various points in discussion.

On these points his Highness made the following remarks:—

1. The Sultan accepted the appointment of a Commissioner.

2. His Imperial Majesty accepted the negotiation of peace with the Soudanese and provision to be made for the prevention of the Slave Trade. But on this head his Highness asked me whether or not Her Majesty's Government would consent to the negotiations with the Soudanese being conducted by the Ottoman Commissioner in conjunction with the Khedive, each step of the negotiation being submitted for the approval of the British Representative. His Highness said that the peace when made was to be observed and maintained by the Khedive and the Sultan, and it was fair that they should themselves negotiate for the settlement.

Although his Highness did not express the opinion in so many words, he showed me that difficulties would arise from our prominently intervening in negotiations between Mussulman and Mussulman. I promised to submit the point to your Lordship.

His Highness then asked me whether the Turkish Commissioner and the Khedive could pursue the same course with respect to the general organization of Egypt, making a Report to the British Commissioner. To this I at once replied that it was impossible. Without going into a history of the past, I said that the force of circumstances had placed upon us very weighty responsibilities—to Her Majesty the Queen and her people, to the people of Egypt, and to the Powers—and that we could not delegate to any one those responsibilities. His Highness asked me if I had no confidence in the Khedive. To this I replied that it was no question of confidence or no confidence, that we could not shelter ourselves behind any one else, that we were actually in occupation of Egypt, and that we could not even think of terminating that occupation until we had ourselves placed the country in a state which we ourselves judged to be satisfactory; we had done everything, both publicly and privately, to show our respect for the dignity and the rights of the Sultan; and I added that, if we did not discharge the duties incumbent on us, those duties might, and probably would, be assumed by some other country perhaps not actuated by the same friendly feelings; on this point I hoped there would be no mistake.

With regard to the international obligations undertaken by the Khedive (to which phrase objection had been taken), we could admit of an inquiry into how far they were in conformity with the Treaties and Firmans, but not into the policy which had dictated them, which was the natural outcome of recent events. To these views I think he assented.

3. His Highness said that with respect to the reorganization of the army the Sultan would undertake to grant facilities for recruitment.

His Highness went on to say that to-day or to-morrow early he was obliged to pay visits to the Chiefs of Embassies and Missions, but that we could have our first sitting to-morrow (Saturday). I suggested to his Highness that it would be well to dispense as much as possible with all the formalities of Plenipotentiaries and Conferences, and that the shortest way to arrive at a settlement was for the Porte to

prepare the draft of a Convention which could be considered as a whole, and discussed Article by Article. He agreed in this view, and promised that the draft should be prepared forthwith.

Both before and after my interview with the Grand Vizier I saw Artin Bey Dadian, the Musteshar, who assured me of the deep anxiety that now prevailed to arrive at a solution of the Egyptian question, especially in view of recent occurrences elsewhere.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. DRUMMOND WOLFF.

No. 159.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received October 10.)

(No. 42. Most Confidential.)
My Lord, *Therapia, October 3, 1885.*

I CALLED this afternoon on Khaireddin Pasha, whom I had not seen since my arrival. He said he was glad I had not been to see him sooner, as it was not wise in this country for foreign Agents engaged in delicate matters to be seen much with Ministers *en disponibilité*.

I stayed with him for a long time, and I will endeavour succinctly to relate to your Lordship his observations, which were to me of great interest, and which he made, as he said, in strict confidence, not as to a British Minister, but to an old acquaintance.

Nothing could be done in Egypt, he began, except by conciliating the native feeling. In this politics and religion were not only intimately connected, but were one and the same thing, and it was necessary to bear this in mind when dealing with an Arab population. Without so doing success was impossible.

The Arab population had no initiative, but there was a strong dormant ("sourd") sentiment in them which could be aroused when properly handled. It was this feeling which had been touched by Arabi and had led to the enthusiasm in his favour.

I remarked that many thought the revolt of Arabi had been a mere military mutiny. He rejoined that it had begun with the military, but it had reached great proportions by enlisting the "sourd" feelings of the people.

The real desire of an Arab race, and he had had a long experience in Tunis, was for justice, well-being, religion, and holding their country for themselves, but so long as they enjoyed these they aspired to no political life. If one could ascertain the real wishes of the people, it was to avoid distraction ("déchirement"). The Arabs did not love the Turks, but they liked being members of the Turkish Empire.

They desired to belong to Turkey, to be members of a great State, while they wished for local autonomy both in Tunis and Egypt under administrators of their own race. They did not wish to be made independent States at the mercy of any greater Power. But the present Government of Egypt was distasteful to them. It was entirely anomalous. The family of Mohammed Ali was in decay ("une famille pourrie"). He spoke generally, and not personally, as he had known neither the present Khedive nor Ismaïl, whom he had deposed, but alluded to the family as a dynasty. They were either weak or corrupt. The existence of a despotic dynasty in a vassal province was an absurdity. Dynasties were useful in constitutional countries, where the people governed themselves, or even in Turkey with ancient traditions, and where the Sovereign had, at all events, access to what was best in the country. But while the Arabs had no initiative, no desire for political power, while they acquiesced in despotic authority, they desired their Rulers to be capable and just.

Mohammed Ali had been a very able Ruler, and had made himself acceptable to the Egyptians; but it was out of the question to expect that his family could produce able, honest, or popular autocrats from generation to generation—men who would meet even the very modest requirements of an Arab population.

Besides this, the existence of a dynastic system was open to still further dangers. Rulers from the dynastic family would always be desiring further grandeurs and further independence, and this feeling would be fostered and utilized by foreign agents, who, from a desire to obtain influence, would dangle before the incumbent of the throne the prospect of some greater political advancement.

The people of Egypt did not aspire to independence, but such must necessarily be the ambition of each dynastic Ruler.

The only method in his mind to restore and maintain the tranquillity of Egypt was that it should be administered by a Governor, a man of capacity and experience, chosen (as it might be decided) either by the Sultan or by the Powers for a term of years. Such a Ruler would have no ambition beyond his own term of office; and if he did harbour any further dreams they could be held in check. His desire, as an able Ruler, would be to promote the public benefit. He should be glad to see this system applied both to Tunis and Egypt.

His Highness went on to say that there was a great elasticity in the Mahommedan religion, and that, if properly governed, the Arabs could be made to dwell on good terms with all creeds and races.

I inquired his Highness' opinion as to the hold exercised by the Caliphate over the minds of the Arabs. He answered that there was no enthusiasm for it, but that it had a great influence as the flag of that unity he had before described. He considered that the mosque of El Azhar was very active, and as an educational propaganda exercised great power in the Mussulman world.

His Highness observed that the great object of his policy had always been, and would be, to promote an alliance between Turkey and England. Turkey could produce 500,000 or 600,000 fighting men, while England could find what money was necessary to render them effective.

The interests of Turkey and England were in many respects inseparable, and his Highness hoped that the people of England would see this, and restore the harmony and strict friendship which characterized the policy of Lord Palmerston.

In his youth he had been the Aide-de-camp of the Bey of Tunis, who used to keep him in the room during the audiences of the Consuls-General, so as to initiate him early into habits of business.

Whenever the French Agent had done speaking with the Bey, the English Consul-General (then Sir Thomas Reade) would come in and say, "Altesse, I know what the French Consul told you. It is to the detriment of Turkey. Recollect you are a Turkish Prince; the Sultan is our friend, and we will prevent you to the last from infringing the rights of your Sovereign. If he attempts to infringe on any of your just rights, we will do the same for you." "Such," said his Highness, "was the first lesson of my small career."

In the course of the conversation, which was almost a monologue on the part of his Highness, he complained bitterly of the Capitulations, as being the destruction of all good government in the Turkish Empire.

On leaving, Khaireddin Pasha begged me to forgive him if he did not call on me, and requested me to call on him only once more before my departure for Egypt, thinking this the most prudent course for me to take.

I am sorry to have intruded so long on your Lordship's attention, but the opinion is worth recording of a statesman who for many years was almost the supreme Governor of Tunis, and has also been Grand Vizier here.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. DRUMMOND WOLFF.

No. 160.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received October 10.)

(No. 43. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Therapia, October 4, 1885.*

WITH reference to my despatch No. 41 of the 2nd instant, reporting the conversation in which the Grand Vizier informed me that he would resume the negotiations himself on the 3rd instant, I have the honour to inform your Lordship that his Highness paid me an official visit yesterday morning. He named to-morrow for our meeting, and said that the draft Convention which he had promised to prepare would then be ready for our consideration.

In view, however, of the delays which had occurred since I addressed my note to the Plenipotentiaries on the 14th ultimo, I thought it best to instruct Mr. Marinich to proceed to the Porte and to urge his Highness to lose no time in proceeding with the negotiations.

A copy of these instructions is inclosed, as well as a copy of Mr. Marinich's Report of his interview with the Grand Vizier, from which your Lordship will see that his Highness has done all in his power to prepare the necessary papers, and that he is only awaiting the issue of the Imperial Iradé.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. DRUMMOND WOLFF.

Inclosure 1 in No. 160.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to Mr. Marinich.

Sir, *Therapia, October* 3, 1885.

I REQUEST you to be good enough to call to-morrow on the Grand Vizier, and to inform him that on Tuesday next there is a meeting of the Cabinet Council in London, and that I trust on Monday I shall be able to report by telegraph to my Government that the Government of His Imperial Majesty has given me an answer to my note of the 14th ultimo, written at the request of the Plenipotentiaries, and to which I have as yet received no reply.

I have been unwilling to urge on the Government of His Imperial Majesty the Sultan the consideration of my note during the grave events which have lately occurred to absorb their attention. But as I am about to leave on Monday week for Egypt, I would wish to point out to his Highness that but little time remains for the conclusion of the Convention in which I understood it was the wish of His Highness to record any arrangement arrived at.

I had understood from his Highness on Thursday that I was to-day to receive some official intimation of the course which the Government of His Imperial Majesty the Sultan proposed to take on the Egyptian question, and I was much disappointed on learning to-day from his Highness that nothing had been done towards preparing the draft Convention.

Will you be good enough to read these instructions to the Grand Vizier, and leave a copy of them with his Highness.

I am, &c.
(Signed) H. DRUMMOND WOLFF.

Inclosure 2 in No. 160.

Mr. Marinich to Sir H. Drummond Wolff.

M. l'Envoyé, *Therapia, le 4 Octobre*, 1885.

ME conformant aux ordres de votre Excellence, je me suis rendu aujourd'hui auprès du Grand Vizir et lui ai communiqué la lettre contenant les instructions que votre Excellence a bien voulu me donner en date de hier au sujet de la question Égyptienne.

Son Altesse Kiamil Pacha m'a répondu que l'objet de la mission de votre Excellence à Constantinople le préoccupait sans cesse, qu'elle attendait l'Iradé Impérial pour la nomination du Commissaire et qu'elle espérait fermement que cet Iradé paraîtrait jusqu'à demain. Il sera de suite communiqué à votre Excellence.

Son Altesse estime que la Porte ne saurait pouvoir répondre à la note de votre Excellence du 14 Septembre avant de recevoir l'Iradé en question; car il ne s'agit pas, a dit son Altesse, d'en accuser simplement réception mais bien d'y répondre sérieusement.

Le Grand Vizir m'a ajouté qu'il a déjà préparé le projet de Convention en Turc, avec sa traduction, et qu'il garde ces papiers auprès de lui en attendant l'Iradé. Dès que celui-ci paraîtra, on pourra, a dit son Altesse, rédiger la Convention dans une seule séance.

J'ai appris de source autorisée, mais tout à fait confidentiellement, que c'est après avoir demandé l'avis préalable du Sultan que le Grand Vizir a fait un Rapport à Sa Majesté pour lui soumettre la nomination du Commissaire ainsi que les bases de l'entente concernant l'Égypte, et c'est précisément l'Iradé qui doit sanctionner ce dernier rapport qui est attendu impatiemment par le Grand Vizir.

Me conformant aux ordres de votre Excellence, j'ai laissé au Grand Vizir copie de mes instructions.

J'ai, &c.
(Signé) H. MARINICH.

No. 161.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received October 10.)

(No. 44. Secret.)

My Lord, *Therapia, October* 5, 1885.

I HAVE the honour to inclose copies of two documents which have reached me from a secret source. The first is a note from the Russian Ambassador to the Porte, dated the 14th ultimo, which appears to be satisfactory in so far that there would seem to be no intention on the part of the Russian Government to interfere with the immediate objects of my mission in regard to Egypt. The second document is a telegram from the Porte to the Turkish Ambassadors at Paris, Berlin, Vienna, and St. Petersburgh, setting forth the policy of the new Turkish Ministry, with special reference to the Egyptian negotiations.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. DRUMMOND WOLFF.

Inclosure 1 in No. 161.

M. de Nelidoff to Saïd Pasha.

(Secret.)
(Traduction.) *Le* 14 *Septembre*, 1885.

AINSI que je l'ai expliqué précédemment à votre Excellence, la question Égyptienne, bien qu'elle ait assumé un caractère international, quelles que soient les négociations qui ont eu lieu entre l'Angleterre et la Sublime Porte concernant les droits de cette dernière, le Gouvernement Russe n'entend ni s'y opposer ni revendiquer le droit d'y participer, et il ne prétend non plus parler au nom des États Européens. Seulement, il a invité la Sublime Porte de renoncer à un accord quelconque qui soit fait en vue d'hostilité contre la Russie.

Par conséquent, j'ai des instructions de mon Gouvernement pour déclarer à la Sublime Porte que si un pareil accord en dehors de celui concernant Chypre venait à être conclu, la Russie ne saurait le regarder avec indifférence, et elle tiendrait la Sublime Porte responsable de toutes les conséquences fâcheuses qui pourraient en résulter.

Inclosure 2 in No. 161.

Saïd Pasha to the Turkish Ambassadors at Berlin, Paris, Vienna, and St. Petersburgh.

(Secret.)
(Traduction.)
(Télégraphique.) *Le* 15 *Septembre*, 1885.

LE changement de Ministère ne modifie nullement la politique de la Sublime Porte qui continuera à entretenir des relations d'amitié avec toutes les Grandes Puissances sur le même pied. Le Ministère actuel ne se propose que de conformer son action aux vues de Sa Majesté Impériale qui ne pense qu'à sauvegarder les intérêts de son Empire et assurer le bien-être et l'égalité parfaite de ses sujets. Par conséquent, la Sublime Porte ne se liera jamais par Traité spécial avec une seule Puissance.

Le changement de Ministère, qui eut lieu à la suite de la révolte d'une de ses provinces, ne saurait modifier la politique de la Porte, par rapport à la question Égyptienne, et bien qu'on continuera les négociations avec le Plénipotentiaire Anglais, ces négociations auront toujours pour base la sauvegarde de nos droits de souveraineté sur l'Égypte et la préservation, sans la moindre modification, des droits et privilèges dont jouissent les Grandes Puissances dans la province en question. Vous êtes par

conséquent autorisé de donner à cet égard les assurances nécessaires au Ministre des Affaires Étrangères du Gouvernement auprès duquel vous êtes accrédité en lui donnant en même temps lecture et en lui laissant copie du présent télégramme.

No. 162.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received October 10.)

(No. 45. Most Confidential.)

Therapia, October 5, 1885.

My Lord,

LAST night late I received a telegram asking me to call on the Grand Vizier at 11 o'clock.

A copy is inclosed.

His Highness informed me on my arrival that he had just returned from the Palace, where he had received the permission of the Sultan for himself and Aarifi Pasha at once to begin negotiations, and, on being joined by the latter, he produced a rough draft of a Convention, not divided into Articles, as a basis for discussion. I need not refer to this document further than to allude to two principal points.

First, it was proposed that the negotiations with the Soudanese tribes should be conducted by the Turkish Commissioner and the Khedive, and that the English Commissioner should be merely apprised of the arrangements arrived at. The second was a provision for evacuation immediately on the report of the Commissioners.

The first proposal was modified with some difficulty, after I had pointed out that the means of a settlement, such as subsidies to the Chiefs and other matters, came into the general arrangements, and could not be adopted without our consent.

I was quite willing to admit that the actual negotiations could be best conducted by Mussulmans, but I insisted that every step of the negotiations should be made known to us, and that no decision should be taken without our concurrence.

This was at length admitted, and the words were altered accordingly; the Plenipotentiaries introducing an explanation into the text.

The second point was one of excessive difficulty, and gave rise to a long argument.

It was evident that the Sultan clung to the idea of fixing the withdrawal of our troops, if not by date, at any rate by an event to be defined. To this I objected, using the arguments I have already, more than once, laid before your Lordship. I pointed out that it was impossible for us to bind ourselves to certain prospective pledges, while we could not foresee the circumstances of the period at which they might have to be redeemed. It might be that the Sultan himself would wish us to prolong our stay in Egypt, even after the period prescribed by the event.

The Grand Vizier rejoined that such prolongation, if desired, might be made the subject of a further arrangement at the time. Against this I urged that unforeseen contingencies might make this further arrangement impossible. The Sultan would have a right to demand the evacuation. Pressure, perhaps of a dangerous kind, might be brought on him by others to enforce this demand, although against his will, and we should be bound to comply with it, even to his detriment. The Plenipotentiaries practically admitted the force of this reasoning, and consented to the alteration of the words accordingly.

We agreed to omit reference to the Slave Trade. The Plenipotentiaries said that Treaties already existed on the subject. I suggested that one of the "pacific means" for pacifying the Soudan might include a licence for the Slave Trade. To this they replied that as the consent of the British Commissioner was required before any arrangement was decided on with the Soudanese, this objection was not valid.

I have the honour to inclose a copy of the French original of the draft, a translation of which I telegraphed to your Lordship, and in which it will be perceived that I have adopted the phraseology enjoined in your Lordship's telegrams. We then separated, on the understanding that we should meet again to-morrow at half-past 1, and that we reserved, on both sides, the right to propose alterations or additions.

On leaving the Grand Vizier I paid a visit to Artin Effendi Dadian. His Excellency told me that he considered we could very shortly conclude the Convention.

On my return home I found a cavass from the Porte with a letter from Artin

Effendi, written by desire of the Grand Vizier, and requesting me to call at 11, instead of the hour previously fixed.

I have, &c.

(Signed) H. DRUMMOND WOLFF.

Inclosure 1 in No. 162.

Kiamil Pasha to Sir H. Drummond Wolff.

(Télégraphique.)

Beylerbey, October 5, 1885.

J'AI l'honneur d'informer votre Excellence que demain à 11 heures je serais prêt à recevoir votre Excellence à la Porte et entrer en délibération.

Inclosure 2 in No. 162.

Draft Bases of Convention.

UN Commissaire Ottoman se rendra en Égypte pour aviser, de concert avec Son Altesse le Khédive, aux moyens les plus propres à apaiser le Soudan par des voies pacifiques. Le Commissaire Ottoman et Son Altesse le Khédive tiendront le Commissaire Anglais au courant des négociations, et toute mesure à arrêter, devant faire partie du réglement général des affaires Égyptiennes, sera adoptée et mise à exécution d'accord avec le Commissaire Anglais.

Les deux Commissaires réorganiseront, de concert avec Son Altesse le Khédive, l'armée Égyptienne, et le Gouvernement Impérial accordera dans ce but les facilités qui seront reconnues nécessaires.

Les deux Commissaires, de concert avec Son Altesse le Khédive, examineront toutes les branches de l'Administration Égyptienne, soit pour confirmer la situation actuelle, soit pour y apporter les modifications qu'ils jugeront nécessaires dans les limites des Firmans Impériaux.

Les engagements internationaux contractés par Son Altesse le Khédive seront approuvés par le Gouvernement Ottoman en tant qu'ils ne seraient pas contraires aux privilèges octroyés par les Firmans Impériaux.

Dès que les deux Commissaires auront constaté que le bon fonctionnement de l'Administration est assuré, ils présenteront un Rapport à leurs Gouvernements respectifs, qui aviseront à la conclusion d'une Convention réglant le retrait des troupes Britanniques de l'Égypte dans un délai convenable.

No. 163.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received October 10.)

(No. 46. Confidential.)

Therapia, October 5, 1885.

My Lord,

WITH reference to my previous despatch No. 45, Most Confidential, of this date, your Lordship will perceive that, in deference to the wishes previously expressed on the part of the Imperial Government, the stipulation relative to recruitment in Turkey for the Egyptian army has been left very vague.

While this has satisfied the requirements of the Porte, I venture to offer my opinion that the omission of an express permission for recruitment in Turkey has been judicious. The more I inquire into the facts, the greater is my conviction that it is wise to mix up the Turks as little as possible with the mechanism of Egypt. The stipulation as it stands is quite sufficient to allow of a certain admixture of Turks in the Egyptian army; any public announcement of a prominent part to be taken by Turks in the preparation of that army would create alarm, render the British Government unpopular in Egypt, and weaken the beneficial effect that the Sultan, as Caliph, can exercise in restoring order in that country.

I have, &c.

(Signed) H. DRUMMOND WOLFF.

No. 164.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received October 10, 8·30 A.M.)

(No. 60.)
(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, October* 10, 1885, 1·5 A.M.

YOUR telegram No. 26 of to-day.

With respect to alteration proposed by Cabinet in IIIrd Article, I beg to call your Lordship's attention to Earl Granville's despatch to Mr. Wyndham No. 126A of the 9th April, in which he consents to an Iradé confirming the recent judicial reforms. Would this not be desirable, and would it not also be conciliatory, if desired, that Sultan should be allowed to sanction Lord Dufferin's constitution?

I shall of course endeavour to carry out your views, and I may be able to do so, but I am anxious to shorten negotiations as much as possible for fear of accidents. As I see Grand Vizier to-morrow at noon, please reply by cable.

No. 165.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received October 10, 8·30 P.M.)

(No. 61.)
(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, October* 10, 1885, 12·10 P.M.

DRAFT Convention. The alterations referred to in my telegram No. 54 of 6th instant were as follows:—

First Article prescribes appointment of Commissioners. Second Article, after word "Khedive," insert "or with the functionary who will be designated for that purpose by His Highness." Instead of words beginning "and all measures," and ending "Egyptian affairs," insert "as the measures to be decided upon form part of the general settlement of Egyptian affairs they shall."

Do you see any objection to this? I may have to send you a very long telegram this afternoon after my interview with Grand Vizier and the new Minister for Foreign Affairs, who has just landed. To this I should be glad of an early reply.

No. 166.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received October 10, 10 P.M.)

(No. 62.)
(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, October* 10, 1885, 7·10 P.M.

YOUR telegram No. 26.

First amendment will be placed in preamble thus: "have agreed on the following Articles, adopted on the basis and within the limits of the Imperial Firmans now in force." Amendments in Articles III and V adopted. Plenipotentiaries demur at, but do not refuse, Article on Slave Trade, saying it is useless and will take a prodigious time, as all former Conventions must be examined. Must I insist on this?

With respect to Protocol of recruitment, they want it to run in this sense, though they will not formally propose the words till Tuesday, after a Council: "Porte will not oppose enlistment of troops in Egypt natives of other provinces of Ottoman Empire, and the Sultan will permit a certain number of Ottoman officers to join Egyptian army."

Though suggested by them, this carries out views put forth in your telegram No. 20. Sultan is much averse to leaving question open for fear of a drain on Turkish recruits for Egyptian army, the more so as Egyptian authorities last year attempted to recruit in Albania without authority from the Porte.

Grand Vizier says that, from his personal experience of Egypt, no difficulty was ever found in obtaining recruits.

An early answer may enable me to conclude at once.

No. 167.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir H. Drummond Wolff.

(No. 28.)
(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, October* 11, 1885, 4·30 P.M.

DRAFT Convention: Yours No. 61.

I have no objection to alterations proposed in this telegram.

No. 168.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir H. Drummond Wolff.

(No. 34. Ext. 28.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, October* 11, 1885.

I HAVE received your telegraphic despatch No. 61 of yesterday's date, on the subject of the draft Convention respecting Egypt; and I informed you to-day, by telegraph, that I have no objections to offer to the alterations in the text of that document proposed in your despatch above referred to.

I am, &c.
(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 169.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir H. Drummond Wolff.

(No. 29.)
(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, October* 11, 1885, 5 P.M.

DRAFT Convention: Yours No. 62.

The recruiting clause is reduced to a very small matter. Could it not run: "Porte will not oppose enlistment of troops for Egypt natives of other provinces of Ottoman Empire, but recruiting for this purpose will not be permitted to interfere with military exigencies of Sultan's service"?

No. 170.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir H. Drummond Wolff.

(No. 35. Ext. 29.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, October* 11, 1885.

WITH reference to your telegraphic despatch No. 62 of yesterday's date, explaining the views of the Turkish Plenipotentiaries with regard to the proposed Protocol respecting recruiting in Turkey for the Egyptian army, I suggested to you to-day, by telegraph, that the clause in question, the difference in regard to which is now reduced to a very small matter, might run as follows:—

"The Sublime Porte will not oppose the enlistment of troops for Egypt amongst the natives of the other provinces of the Ottoman Empire, but it is understood that recruiting for this purpose will not be permitted to interfere with the military exigencies of His Majesty the Sultan's service."

I am, &c.
(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 171.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir H. Drummond Wolff.

(No. 30.)
(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, October* 11, 1885, 5 P.M.

DRAFT Convention: Yours No. 62.

Might not the Slave Trade Article run thus: "All engagements now in force for the suppression of the Slave Trade are hereby confirmed, and the Commissioners will consult with the Khedive as to the best mode of giving effect to them"?

In view of opinion in this country, some mention of the Slave Trade is desirable.

No. 172.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir H. Drummond Wolff.

(No. 36. Ext. 30.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, October* 11, 1885.

WITH reference to your telegram No. 62 of yesterday's date, stating the objections entertained by the Turkish Plenipotentiaries to the insertion in the draft Convention to be concluded with the Porte of an Article on the subject of the Slave Trade, I suggested to you to-day, by telegraph, that the proposed Article might run as follows:—

"All engagements at present in force for suppressing the Slave Trade are hereby confirmed; and the Commissioners will consult with the Khedive as to the best mode of giving effect to them."

I pointed out that, in view of public opinion in this country, it was desirable that some mention of the Slave Trade should appear in the Convention.

I am, &c.

(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 173.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received October 11, 10 P.M.)

(No. 63 A.)

(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, October* 11, 1885, 3 P.M.

YOUR telegram No. 27.

Would you ask Lord Wolseley how many Turkish officers and men would be necessary as a maximum for incorporation in the Egyptian army, and whether 2,000 men and 50 officers would be enough, or a smaller number?

Sultan is very anxious upon this head, as he fears denuding the Empire of troops, and wished the question to be settled immediately. I cannot get information from Mr. Egerton, as Generals Stephenson and Grenfell are down at the front.

For my part I shall be satisfied with the Protocol as reported in my telegram No. 62.

No. 174.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received October 12, 8 A.M.)

(No. 63 B. Confidential.)

(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, October* 11, 1885, 11·10 P.M.

WITH regard to paragraph about troops, could it not run thus: "will grant facilities so far as the exigencies of service in the Turkish army will allow"? This might end in the Sultan's giving a large or small number, but it sounds fair, and we could not ask him to cripple his own army by stripping it of men for Egypt.

Is the reference to the Slave Trade indispensable, or would this Article do: "The Commissioners shall consult ('aviseront') as to the best means of carrying out the stipulations of existing Treaties for the suppression of the Slave Trade." I saw Russian Ambassador last night, and he professed himself satisfied with our arrangements. Please recollect I see the Plenipotentiaries on Tuesday at noon, and I hope to conclude this week.

No. 175.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received October 12, 1·30 P.M.)

(No. 65.)

(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, October* 12, 1885, 11·10 A.M.

CAN your Lordship inform me whether it has been the habit, in Conventions with the Porte, to insist on formal full powers, or whether an Iradé has been sufficient, as I am told has been the case? Of course, if the Turkish Plenipotentiaries sign, they could not go back on the informality of the powers. Perhaps Lord Lyons or Sir Henry Elliot might give some information on the subject.

Please reply by cable.

No. 176.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir H. Drummond Wolff.

(No. 31.)

(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, October* 12, 1885, 2·20 P.M.

YOUR telegram No. 63.

I agree to your suggestions both as to recruiting and Slave Trade. I understand the former supersedes your previous question for Lord Wolseley.

No. 177.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir H. Drummond Wolff.

(No. 32.)

(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, October* 12, 1885, 4·55 P.M.

YOUR telegram No. 63, Confidential.

In article as to Slave Trade you should mention Khedive as well as Commissioners.

No. 178.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir H. Drummond Wolff.

(No. 37.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, October* 12, 1885.

IN the instructions with which you were furnished on your departure from England for Constantinople you were informed that the course of action to be pursued by you on proceeding to Egypt must be largely influenced by the result of your negotiations at the Turkish capital, and that until that result was known, detailed instructions upon the matter would be impossible. At the same time I gave you some indications of the objects to which your efforts should be directed.

The arrangement arrived at by you with the Porte has now been recorded in the draft of a Convention, which it may be hoped will be signed in the course of a few days, providing for the appointment of Commissioners by the two Governments, and defining their functions and the scope of their inquiries in Egypt. It is intended that you should be the Commissioner on behalf of Her Majesty's Government, and your appointment will be formally made out, as soon as the Convention is signed, and its exact terms in their final shape are known.

I have already forwarded to you in my despatch marked Separate, of the Treaty series, and dated the 22nd ultimo, a letter of credence to be presented by you to the Khedive on your arrival; and I now transmit to you a copy of a despatch which I have addressed to Her Majesty's Agent and Consul-General at Cairo, instructing him to hand over to you during your stay in Egypt the transaction of the political business of the Agency.*

Further instructions will be sent to you upon any points on which special directions may seem necessary for your guidance.

I am, &c.

(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 179.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir H. Drummond Wolff.

(No. 38.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, October* 12, 1885.

I HAVE received and laid before the Queen your despatch No. 45, Most Confidential, of the 5th instant, inclosing the rough draft of a Convention proposed by the Grand Vizier as a basis for deliberation, and reporting your discussions with His Highness and Aarifi Pasha, which resulted in its assuming its actual form.

I have already forwarded to you, by telegraph, the observations of the Cabinet as to the modifications which are desired in this paper.

* No. 123.

Subject to those observations, your proceedings as reported in your despatch above mentioned are entirely approved by Her Majesty's Government.

I am, &c.
(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 180.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir H. Drummond Wolff.

No. 33.)
(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, October* 14, 1885, 3·15 P.M.

YOURS No. 65.

We are making inquiries.

No. 181.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received October 14, 6·30 P.M.)

(No. 66. Most Confidential.)
(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, October* 14, 1885, 5·26 P.M.

MY telegram No. 59 of 9th instant.

Since telegraphing to your Lordship I learn that French Ambassador, both himself and through his Dragoman, has been making inquiries of the Porte as to the Convention, and in an unpleasant manner. This is quite contrary to the assurances of his Excellency.

No. 182.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received October 14, 8 P.M.)

(No. 67.)
(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, October* 14, 1885, 8·5 P.M.

WITH respect to Slave Trade, can clause run thus?—

"The Commissioners, with Khedive, will examine existing Treaties for the suppression of Slave Trade, and consult as to best means of carrying out any provisions not heretofore fulfilled."

Please reply by cable.

No. 183.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir H. Drummond Wolff.

(No. 39. Ext. 34.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, October* 15, 1885.

I HAVE received your telegram No. 67 of yesterday's date, suggesting that the Slave Trade clause in the Anglo-Turkish Convention should run as follows:—

"The Commissioners with the Khedive will examine existing Treaties for the suppression of the Slave Trade, and consult as to the best means of carrying out any provisions not heretofore fulfilled."

I have informed you to-day, by telegraph, that I concur in the wording of the proposed clause.

I am, &c.
(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 184.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir H. Drummond Wolff.

(No. 35.)
(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, October* 16, 1885, 5·10 P.M.

YOUR No. 65.

Lord Lyons does not recollect a case in point, but is not aware that practice of Porte differs from that of other Governments.

We have here a full power, under Sultan's sign-manual, issued to Musurus Pasha for Danube Convention. Can you not ascertain from our Dragomans or from other Embassies what has been the usual form when Treaty is signed at Constantinople?

As the Grand Vizier has himself insisted on a Convention, it is not to be supposed that he would wish to proceed without full authority.

No. 185.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir H. Drummond Wolff.

(No. 36.)
(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, October* 16, 1885, 6·45 P.M.

I SPOKE to Musurus very strongly about the delays attending their negotiations with you, and said that, considering we were agreed in principle, such procrastination coming from a Power professing to be friendly made the worst possible impression.

He promised to telegraph to his Government at once.

No. 186.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir H. Drummond Wolff.

(No. 40. Ext. 36.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, October* 16, 1885.

IN the course of conversation to-day with the Turkish Ambassador, I spoke very strongly about the delays raised by the Porte in their negotiations with you, and pointed out to his Excellency that, considering that the two Governments were agreed in principle as to the scope of the Anglo-Turkish Convention on the affairs of Egypt, such procrastination in settling the details on the part of a professedly friendly Power made the worst possible effect in this country.

Musurus Pasha promised to report my observations by telegraph to the Turkish Government.

I have already communicated to you the substance of this despatch by telegraph.

I am, &c.
(Signed) SALISBURY.

No 187.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received October 17.)

(No. 47. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Therapia, October* 9, 1885.

I HAD again yesterday an interview with the Grand Vizier. Aarifi Pasha was ill. His Highness informed me that the Sultan was disposed to accept the draft Convention as a whole, but His Imperial Majesty was rather afraid that the clause for granting facilities for recruitment amongst Ottoman populations might lead to exorbitant demands by which the Ottoman army might be drained of men for service in Egypt.

Your Lordship is aware of the Sultan's apprehensions of a deficiency of troops, and this view is, perhaps, justified from revelations which have lately been made of the defective state of the Turkish army.

For my part, I do not think it desirable, in a political sense, that too many Turks should be employed in Egypt. But from a military point of view, I do not venture to arrive at a decision.

I have telegraphed to Mr. Egerton, who looks on the question as a very grave one.

I think it would be best to devise a form of declaration by which the Sultan could instruct his Commissioner as to the number of Turkish troops required after consultation on the spot. As the reconstruction of the Egyptian army on a footing of efficiency is a necessary preliminary to the withdrawal of our troops, the Sultan would be standing in his own light by refusing to grant the facilities judged essential by the Commissioners.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. DRUMMOND WOLFF.

No. 188.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received October 17.)

(No. 48.)
My Lord, *Therapia, October* 9, 1885.

AN Arab named Ibrahim Bey has recently arrived at Constantinople.

He is not an exile from Egypt, but is in the confidence of the Sheikhs at Cairo, where he lives, and the Sultan has ordered an Arab dependent of the Palace to entertain him. He called yesterday, and told me that the Arabs had been greatly pleased by my having been accredited to the Sultan, They would do all in their power to assist me. Their wish was to recognize the Caliphate within the conditions of their own autonomy.

I told him that the desire of the Government was to consult in as far as was possible the interests and feelings of the Arab race, and that, as your Lordship had shown your desire to recognize the rights of the Sultan, so it was their duty to co-operate in establishing an orderly state of things both in Egypt and the Soudan. As it was the desire of a Christian race to dwell in amity with Mussulmans, so the latter should prove their readiness to live on friendly terms with Christians. Nothing could be one-sided, and if we gave, so we expected to receive.

He expressed himself pleased at what I said, and assured me that since my mission to the Sultan the public opinion of the Egyptians had been tranquillized, that the Egyptians would now loyally support the Khedive Tewfik, and that the Sheikhs would contribute in as far as they could to the tranquillization of the Soudan and the establishment of good order in Egypt.

I begged Ibrahim Bey to come and see me whenever he wished, and to communicate to me any information or opinion he desired.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. DRUMMOND WOLFF.

No. 189.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received October 17.)

(No. 49.)
My Lord, *Therapia, October* 12, 1885.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's despatch No. 29 of the 5th instant, inclosing a communication from the War Office on the subject of the proposed garrison for Suakin.

As to the composition of that garrison, from a military point of view, I can, of course, offer no opinion; but the raising of troops to form part of the Egyptian army is a point on which it may be necessary for me to submit to your Lordship some suggestions on my arrival in Egypt, where I hope to be in the course of the next few days.

It enters so much into general considerations connected with the reorganization of that army, the numbers of which are limited by Firmans and Treaty, that I hope your Lordship will see that it can scarcely be dealt with without reference to other matters shortly to be discussed.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. DRUMMOND WOLFF.

No. 190.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received October 17.)

(No. 50.)
My Lord, *Therapia, October* 12, 1885.

I HAVE the honour to transmit to your Lordship copy of the rough draft of the Convention as it now stands, and which I have to discuss with the Turkish Plenipotentiaries on Tuesday the 13th instant.

Your Lordship will see that the first addition proposed by Her Majesty's Government is inserted in the preamble, and the alterations suggested by the Turkish

Plenipotentiaries and by Her Majesty's Government are incorporated in the body of the text.

The only points still to be discussed are the modification of the clause relative to recruitment, and the clause relative to the Slave Trade.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. DRUMMOND WOLFF.

Inclosure in No. 190.

Draft Convention as altered up to the 10th October.

Preamble.

[Appointment of Plenipotentiaries.]

Lesquels, après avoir échangé leurs pleins pouvoirs, trouvés en bonne et due forme, sont convenus des Articles suivants, adoptés sur la base et dans les limites des Firmans Impériaux actuellement en vigueur :—

Un Commissaire Ottoman et un Commissaire Britannique se rendront en Égypte.

Le Commissaire Ottoman avisera, de concert avec Son Altesse le Khédive, ou avec le fonctionnaire qui sera désigné à cet effet par Son Altesse, aux moyens les plus propres à apaiser le Soudan par des voies pacifiques. Le Commissaire Ottoman et Son Altesse le Khédive tiendront le Commissaire Anglais au courant des négociations, et comme les mesures à arrêter se rattachent au réglement général des affaires Égyptiennes, elles seront adoptées et mises à exécution d'accord avec le Commissaire Anglais.

Les deux Commissaires réorganiseront, de concert avec Son Altesse le Khédive, l'armée Égyptienne, et le Gouvernement Impérial accordera dans ce but les facilités qui seront reconnues nécessaires.

Les deux Commissaires, de concert avec Son Altesse le Khédive, examineront toutes les branches de l'Administration Égyptienne, et pourront y apporter les modifications qu'ils jugeront nécessaires dans les limites des Firmans Impériaux

Les engagements internationaux contractés par Son Altesse le Khédive seront approuvés par le Gouvernement Ottoman en tant qu'ils ne seraient pas contraires aux privilèges octroyés par les Firmans Impériaux.

Dès que les deux Commissaires auront constaté que la sécurite des frontières et le bon fonctionnement et la stabilité du Gouvernement Égyptien sont assurés, ils présenteront un Rapport à leurs Gouvernements respectifs, qui aviseront à la conclusion d'une Convention réglant le retrait des troupes Britanniques de l'Égypte dans un délai convenable.

No. 191.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received October 17.)

(No. 51.)
My Lord, *Therapia, October* 13, 1885.

THE German Ambassador called on me yesterday to ask me for some details respecting the Convention, which I gave him in the amplest manner.

He told me he had again spoken on the subject to the Grand Vizier, and had taken an opportunity of sending a further message to the Sultan.

He believes that Raouf Pasha is to be named Commissioner under the Treaty. If so, I consider it to be a very good choice.

Raouf Pasha was named Vali of Adrianople in 1879, on the evacuation of the Russian troops, and I there made his acquaintance. He behaved with great tact and prudence in a very difficult position, and was much liked by the different populations. His health has not been recently equal to military employment.

M. de Radowitz also informed me that the explanations I had made to the Russian Ambassador had produced a good effect. He had just seen M. de Nélidoff, who told

him that he had been perfectly satisfied with my statement, and that he saw nothing to object to in my arrangements. He had written in this sense to his Government.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. DRUMMOND WOLFF.

No. 192.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received October 17, 9 P.M.)

(No. 68.)
(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, October* 17, 1885, 6·21 P.M.

NEGOTIATION resumed this morning. Only point open is that of the Slave Trade. They decline to re-enact Conventions which they say are in full force and were never broken by them; if by any one, by us through General Gordon. But they will assent to following formula, which, if agreed to by your Lordship, will, I think, complete the arrangement and allow me to leave. It appears sufficient:—

"The two Commissioners, after concert with His Highness, will address a Report to their Governments as to best measures to be taken to assure prohibition ('défense') of Slave Trade in conformity with existing Convention."

The Convention referred to is that of 25th January, 1880, concluded by Sir A. H. Layard. This is to be sent to the Sultan to-day, and I am to return on Monday, and hope that day to sign. I should be glad of an answer from your Lordship to-morrow, Sunday.

The recruiting clause accepted in accordance with your Lordship's telegram of 12th October.

No. 193.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir H. Drummond Wolff.

(No. 37.)
(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, October* 18, 1885, 5 P.M.

I APPROVE of your Slave Trade clause.

No. 194.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir H. Drummond Wolff.

(No. 41. Ext. 37.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, October* 18, 1885.

I HAVE received your telegraphic despatch No. 68 of yesterday's date, stating that the Turkish Plenipotentiaries will assent to the following formula respecting the Slave Trade being inserted in the Anglo-Turkish Convention on the affairs of Egypt:—

"The two Commissioners, after consultation with His Highness the Khedive, will address a Report to their respective Governments as to the best measures to be taken to assure the prohibition of the Slave Trade in conformity with the Convention of the 25th January, 1880."

I have already informed you, by telegraph, that I approve of the proposed clause.

I am, &c.
(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 195.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received October 18, 10·45 P.M.)

(No. 69. Most Confidential.)
(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, October* 18, 1885, 3·15 P.M.

I LEARN that, in order to show His Imperial Majesty's appreciation of your Lordship's support of Khedive, Sultan intends to send him the Order of Imtiaz, the highest decoration of the Empire. Prince Halim, who was in high favour, has fallen into disgrace, and the Sultan has ordered his functionaries not to receive him if he calls.

No. 196.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received October 19, 7 P.M.)

(No. 70.)
(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, October* 19, 1885, 6·10 P.M.

AS I was leaving for the Porte, French Ambassador called and very civilly asked me about my movements. I showed him draft Convention, and, after asking me for explanations, which I gave him, he said that he was perfectly satisfied that it was a good arrangement, and he wished it every success.

He then told me most confidentially that he was most anxious that I should do all in my power to show consideration for France. He did not know what was going to happen in France at present, but Egypt was a great question for France, and he did not wish it to be thrown in the teeth of French Government that they were left in the cold. He therefore begged me to "faire entrer la France dans tout ça." I said your Lordship's instructions were for me to consult the interests of France, and that, if Barrère would act frankly with me, I would do all in my power to consult his views. I knew that Her Majesty's Government wished to live on the best terms with France.

Would it be desirable for your Lordship to make some communication either to M. Waddington or the French Government in this sense, asking that Barrère should communicate freely with me? If so, it should be done at once. I have promised French Ambassador copy of the draft.

No. 197.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir H. Drummond Wolff.

(No. 42.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, October* 19, 1885.

I HAVE received your despatch No. 48 of the 9th instant, reporting your conversation with Ibrahim Bey; and I have to express my approval of the language used by you in explaining to him the policy of Her Majesty's Government with regard to Egypt.

I am, &c.
(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 198.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received October 20, 2·5 P.M.)

(No. 71.)
(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, October* 20, 1885, 1·27 P.M.

HAVE just seen Grand Vizier. His Highness prays your Lordship to be contented with clause ending with words, "will reorganize the army." This he says is quite enough and will comprise recruits if necessary. He was originally in favour of extending the clause in the way your Lordship desires; but he now finds it would mortally offend the Egyptians by showing distrust, while the other provinces of Turkey would resent having to supply troops for Egypt, which they already think highly privileged. I strongly recommend this concession.

No. 199.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received October 21, 10·45 A.M.)

(No. 72. Most Confidential.)
(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, October 21, 1885, 9·15 A.M.

A CHAMBERLAIN of the Sultan has just called to say that, instead of having audience to-day, His Imperial Majesty will send me a person entirely in his confidence, and begged me to stay a few days to see me before my departure. I replied that it would give me great pleasure to discuss matters with the gentleman in question, whose name the Chamberlain did not possess, but I begged him to tell His Imperial Majesty that it was impossible for me to defer my departure, as your Lordship had given me positive instructions to leave to-morrow. I am to see Grand Vizier at 12, after which I will telegraph.

No. 200.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received October 21, 1 P.M.)

(No. 73. Confidential.)
(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, October 21, 1885, 11·5 A.M.

THE Chamberlain has again called to say Sultan has had explanation from the Grand Vizier, and that he will not send me his confidential emissary. He says the Convention will be signed to-morrow, and he begs me to adjourn my departure for two days after the signature. I told him I would telegraph to your Lordship for permission to remain, provided the Convention were really signed to-morrow. I will send my luggage on board to-morrow.

No. 201.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received October 21, 5·30 P.M.)

(No. 74. Confidential.)
(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, October 21, 1885, 5·10 P.M.

THE Iradé has come out, but reserving the points at issue. I have told Grand Vizier I shall leave to-morrow. Council now sitting.

Mr. Egerton telegraphs that Grenfell does not suggest that more than one regiment of Turks should go to Egypt proper, or that more than 250 men be sent at first. Does this suggest to you possibility of modification in the wording?

No. 202.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir H. Drummond Wolff.

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, October 22, 1885, 1·40 P.M.

YOU might propose to agree, in a separate Protocol, that as soon as the exigencies of military organization had been ascertained in Egypt, the nature of any assistance to be given by the Sultan should be arranged between the two Commissioners.

No. 203.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir H. Drummond Wolff.

(No. 46. Ext. .)

Foreign Office, October 22, 1885.

Sir,

IN view of the difficulties raised by the Sultan with regard to the clause respecting recruiting in His Majesty's dominions for the Egyptian army, I suggested to you to-day, by telegraph, to propose to the Porte to agree in a separate Protocol that, as soon as the British and Turkish Commissioners shall have ascertained the exigencies

of the military organization requisite for the maintenance of order in Egypt, and for the defence of that country, the Commissioners should come to an arrangement as to the nature of any assistance to be given by the Sultan towards that object.

I am, &c.
(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 204.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received October 23, 7·45 A.M.)

(Private and Most Confidential.)
(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, October 22, 1885, 7·30 P.M.

THIS morning, at half-past 8, Muni Pasha, Minister of Commerce and Public Instruction, called on me. Object was to prevent my leaving, and to announce that I should receive in the morning a communication from the Sultan. Some time later Saïd Pasha, Minister for Foreign Affairs, arrived. He stayed with me long time, and expressed the great fears he entertained in case we do not sign the Convention. He said the Sultan absolutely refused [?] to the words after those ending "will reorganize the army."

The organization comprised the recruitments, and being a matter of detail, was the affair of the Commissioners. His Imperial Majesty would give recruits, if necessary, but would not have the engagement inserted in the Convention. Neither would he consent to any stipulation respecting the Slave Trade; the Convention for this purpose exists. He had never contravened or neglected it, and he saw no reason why he should be called on to give a fresh assurance. His Excellency said it was impossible for any Minister to make further representations. M. de Radowitz had this morning sent a Memorandum to the Palace urging acceptance of these points, and it had been difficult to find a Secretary who would show it to the Sultan. When His Imperial Majesty had read it he flatly refused to comply with its recommendations.

His Excellency, with whom I had previously held no official communication, entreated me to urge upon your Lordship the acceptance of the Convention as now approved by the Sultan. He looked upon this Convention as the prelude to closer relations of an important nature between the two countries by the settlement of a vexatious difference. He pledged himself that the Commission, when once nominated, would do all we required in Egypt, and a rupture at this moment would have a most injurious effect everywhere, especially as giving a handle to those who were always exciting the Sultan against England.

On his departure, I called on M. de Radowitz. His Excellency said he had been hard at work all the morning, both with the Palace and with the Sultan, to press the acceptance of the whole draft Agreement. He had always found here that there was a point beyond which no pressure could go, and this point had been reached. He was convinced that further insistance might end in a rupture, which he dreaded as a great disaster. Were it his own case, he would accept, and he earnestly recommended Her Majesty's Government to do so. He is telegraphing in this sense to Prince Bismarck.

On my return I found Rustem Pasha, late Governor of the Lebanon, a very old friend of mine, who, at my instance, had gone to the Palace. He spoke exactly in the same sense as did my two Arabs, who had also been there. All were most emphatic.

I then went to the Porte to see Saïd Pasha again, and pressed on him to renew his representations to the Sultan with every argument I could think of, too long to relate. All I could get from him was a half-promise that after the signature [?] try and obtain leave to send me a note about Slave Trade. He anticipated from what he said a long occupation by us of Egypt.

The Ministers have evidently exhausted their powers of representation; and this is the opinion of the German Ambassador.

I am strongly convinced of necessity of concluding, and on many grounds:—

1. In Egypt an arrangement is expected, and a breakdown would have a bad effect to begin with.

2. The words which the Turks wish omitted are not of sufficient importance to justify a rupture.

3. Treaty gives us a legitimate method of pacifying the Soudan.

4. Reconciliation with the Sultan has restored Tewfik Pasha's popularity and regularized his position in the eyes of Mussulmans.

5. The Turks in Convention recognize our occupation, while leaving our withdrawal indefinite.

6. If the Sultan does not assist us straightforwardly in reorganization of the army, he prolongs our stay.

7. All the Powers at present tacitly sanction the Convention.

8. Convention will restore our good relations with Turkey.

9. Despatches will show that we have considered the question of the Slave Trade.

Question of Turkish soldiers is very complicated, and can only be dealt with by management, and too great stress being laid on this element in the Convention might attract attention of the Powers who signed the Treaty of 1840, by which the separation of Egyptian army was originally formed.

No. 205.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received October 23, 8 A.M.)

(Private.)
(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, October 22, 1885, 11 P.M.*

YOURS, Private, of to-day.

As you will have gathered from my long telegram, the matter has gone far beyond Protocols. Even Count Corti is against recruitment. I might propose, but with little chance, a Protocol as follows: Taking your words, substitute for words, "arranged between the Commissioners," the words, "shall be submitted by the two Commissioners for the approval of His Imperial Majesty."

Could you supply me at once with the date of a note addressed to you from Turkish Government in 1878 or 1879, thanking me for my exertions on behalf of the Mussulmans in Philippopoli?

No. 206.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received October 23, 10·30 A.M.)

(Private.)
(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, October 23, 1885, 8·30 A.M.*

PLEASE consider this point. The Egyptian army is constituted by virtue of Vth and VIth Articles of Separate Act of 15th July, 1840. Can two of the Powers, England and Turkey, conclude a bipartite Convention, stipulating conditions beyond the mere reorganization of the army on the old footing, without going to the other Powers? Could they, for instance, covenant that the Egyptian army should be wholly Turkish or wholly English? No one has started this point, which has only just occurred to me; but it might occur to others, if there is anything in it.

No. 207.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir H. Drummond Wolff.

(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, October 23, 1885, 1 P.M.*

YOUR telegram of yesterday's date, marked Private.

Date of note from Carathéodory to Musurus Pasha, February 5, 1879. (See "Turkey No. 9, 1879," p. 583.)

No. 208.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir H. Drummond Wolff.

(No. 38.)
(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, October 23, 1885, 5·30 P.M.*

HER Majesty's Government authorize you to sign Convention. Do what you can to obtain note as to Slave Trade.

No. 209.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir H. Drummond Wolff.

(No. 45. Ext. 38.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, October 23, 1885.*

I HAVE received your unnumbered telegram of yesterday's date, explaining in detail your efforts to carry through the Anglo-Turkish Convention respecting the affairs of Egypt, and your reasons for urging an acceptance of the proposed bipartite arrangements without insisting on the clause authorizing recruitment in Turkey for the Egyptian army.

I informed you to-day, by telegraph, that Her Majesty's Government consent to the omission of the recruiting clause, and authorize you to sign the Convention in the form submitted by Saïd Pasha; and I instructed you, at the same time, to use your best endeavours to obtain from his Excellency a fulfilment of the modified engagement he gave to address to you, after the signature of the Convention, a note reaffirming the existing stipulations with regard to the suppression of the Slave Trade in the Ottoman provinces administered by His Highness the Khedive.

I am, &c.
(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 210.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received October 24.)

(No. 52. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Therapia, October 16, 1885.*

THE Council of Ministers having reported unanimously in favour of the Convention, nothing has for some days remained to be settled but the necessary formalities. These have been waiting for the Sultan's Iradé, which has been daily promised me and as often deferred.

Meanwhile, since I sent in my note of the 14th September, copy of which was forwarded to your Lordship in my despatch No. 29 of the 15th, I have received no communication in writing from the Porte. Seeing that matters were likely to drag on indefinitely, and that it is impossible any longer to defer my journey to Egypt, I yesterday read to the Grand Vizier, and subsequently delivered to Artin Effendi, in the absence of the Minister for Foreign Affairs, the note of which I have the honour herewith to transmit a copy. I have taken the necessary steps to leave this on Monday afternoon, and hope to reach Alexandria about Thursday.

I have also, in a note, copy of which is inclosed, requested Saïd Pasha to obtain for me, if possible, an audience of His Imperial Majesty the Sultan, in case this can be done within the limits of time that will elapse before my departure.

As the Convention is very short, it can be easily concluded before Monday. But as the provisions of that instrument are mainly in favour of the authority of the Sultan, and as the arrangements for which it provides can be carried out by us without any assistance from others, I do not think it desirable to postpone any longer entering on the duties in Egypt with which Her Majesty's Government have intrusted me.

The Minister for Foreign Affairs, whom I saw for a moment as he was proceeding to an Extraordinary Council, wished me to defer the presentation of the note.

This wish I considered myself unable to comply with. I have felt very much the difficulties of the Ottoman Government from unexpected causes, but delays and procrastinations have already lengthened my stay for two months, far too long for the necessities of the negotiations, even when making allowances for other circumstances.

I had informed the Grand Vizier about a fortnight ago that my limit would be Monday last, the 12th instant.

This announcement produced the verbal acceptance of the Convention and a request that the dispatch of my full powers might be expedited. My interviews since then have been confined to discussions on the wording of clauses and a waste of time.

I think the moment has now arrived when these interminable delays should close, and I trust your Lordship will approve the course I am taking.

The Minister for Foreign Affairs proposes to-day to call on me as he is going to pay his return visits to the Heads of Missions still on the Bosphorus. I trust he may bring me some more satisfactory intelligence.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. DRUMMOND WOLFF.

Inclosure 1 in No. 210.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to Saïd Pasha.

Therapia, October 15, 1885.

M. le Ministre,

I VENTURE to call your Excellency's attention to the circumstance that I have as yet received no answer, in writing, to the note which I had the honour to address to the Plenipotentiaries of His Imperial Majesty the Sultan on the 14th September. This note, as your Excellency is aware, was written at the request of their Excellencies, and contained the terms which I gathered were acceptable to both Governments as the bases for an understanding on the affairs of Egypt. At that time I pointed out to their Excellencies that the gravity of the complications existing in Egypt necessitated my early presence in that country.

Since then circumstances have occurred to absorb the attention of the Sublime Porte, and, in the numerous interviews I have had the honour of holding with his Highness the Grand Vizier and his Highness Aarifi Pasha, I have abstained from any expression of impatience at the delay which has taken place.

I informed, however, their Highnesses that it was my intention to leave for Egypt last Monday, and it was at their request that I deferred my departure.

My most recent advices from Egypt show me that further delay is impossible. The very fact of my mission has demonstrated in the fullest manner the desire of Her Majesty's Government to recognize the sovereign rights of His Imperial Majesty, and I had hoped that, during the time I have passed at Constantinople, arrangements, the soundness of which has been admitted by the Ministers of His Imperial Majesty, would have been definitely concluded.

Such, however, has not been the case, and I now find myself under the necessity of leaving the capital for Egypt in order to provide for the discharge of duties, which circumstances have entailed on Her Majesty's Government, both to the Khedive and people of Egypt and to the Powers interested in the maintenance of order and well-being in that country. Those duties Her Majesty's Government are prepared and able to accomplish.

I have, therefore, with great regret telegraphed for the ship that is waiting to convey my Mission to Alexandria to meet me at Besika Bay on Tuesday next, the 20th instant.

I regret this the more as, at my last meetings with the Plenipotentiaries, I had understood that our understanding was on nearly every point complete, and I did not anticipate the further delays which now imperil the whole work of nearly two months, while they detain me from my duties in Egypt which imperatively call for my presence.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. DRUMMOND WOLFF.

Inclosure 2 in No. 210.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to Saïd Pasha.

Therapia, October 15, 1885.

M. le Ministre,

AS I have informed your Excellency by a note of this date that, under instructions from Her Majesty's Government, I am about to leave for Alexandria, I should feel

highly gratified before going if His Imperial Majesty the Sultan would honour me with an audience at which I could express to His Imperial Majesty my deep sense of the personal kindness with which he has received me, and repeat the desire of Her Majesty's Government to consult in every way the rights of His Imperial Majesty in Egypt.

I therefore venture to pray your Excellency to lay before His Imperial Majesty my respectful request for an audience.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. DRUMMOND WOLFF.

No. 211.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received October 24.)

(No. 53.)

Therapia, October 16, 1885.

My Lord,

YESTERDAY afternoon I met the Russian Ambassador walking, and was some time with him. His Excellency asked me whether the final Convention would be submitted to the Powers.

I replied that they would not be interested in it, and that all international engagements were reserved in our arrangements.

His Excellency told me he thought Veli Riza Pasha would be nominated Ottoman Commissioner. He is, I am told, an officer of distinction, who speaks French fluently. He is a member of the Committee of Military Organization, which sits daily at Yildiz, under the presidency of Mukhtar Pasha.

M. de Nélidoff also told me that M. Hitrovo had arrived here on his way to Egypt, after a leave of absence of five months in Russia.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. DRUMMOND WOLFF.

No. 212.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received October 24.)

(No. 54.)

Pera, October 17, 1885.

My Lord,

AT the request of the Grand Vizier I this day called at the Porte and resumed, with his Highness and Aarifi Pasha, the negotiations for the Convention.

The two points still open were, I think, satisfactorily arranged, and I am in great hopes that the Iradé may appear on Monday.

M. de Radowitz has been most kind in pressing, both at the Palace and the Porte, the necessity of a conclusion. His knowledge of the politics of Constantinople, and his great personal influence, have been employed without stint in my favour, and I feel under very great obligations to his Excellency.

The appointment of Saïd Pasha to be Minister for Foreign Affairs has, to a certain extent, been less of an advantage than it might have been, as his Excellency some time since was dismissed from the office he now holds, on the ground of his having leant too much towards England in Egyptian matters.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. DRUMMOND WOLFF.

No. 213.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received October 24.)

(No. 55. Most Confidential.)

Therapia, October 19, 1885.

My Lord,

THE more closely I have studied the politics of this country, the more clearly am I convinced of the expediency of our establishing as soon as possible the strictest relations of friendship with the Mussulman races. The events of the last few years have so changed the whole position of public affairs here that old political calculations

have been entirely upset and old conditions altered. By the disappearance of territorial possessions, Turkey has practically ceased to be a European Power, and probably many years may not elapse before she will have entirely retired into Asia. In case of a war with Russia it might be possible to effect alliances giving us access to the Black Sea. But this is problematic. The three Empires have from different points of view obtained the complete mastery of the European policy of Turkey. We cannot count as heretofore on any effective assistance from Turkey in a European war, and, if we desire to strengthen ourselves in the maintenance of our Indian Empire, that additional strength can only come from Mussulman sources.

The aggregate number of Mussulmans in the world is approximately about 175,000,000. Take from these 15,000,000 of Shiites, and there remain 160,000,000 Sunnites recognizing the Caliphate. I find in the statistics your Lordship was good enough to obtain for me from the India Office that in India there are 50,000,000 Mussulmans, of whom 46,000,000 are Sunnites, in whose mosques prayers are offered up for the Sultan as Caliph, and it is to be supposed that the same custom holds good with the remainder of the Mussulmans of that denomination throughout the world. If, therefore, England could conciliate the good-will of the Mussulman races at large, these might furnish a recruiting ground in future complications, of which Cyprus would be the focus on this side of Asia.

As your Lordship is aware, this is the moment of a great Mahommedan revival. Missionaries are sent from the Mosque of El Azhar and elsewhere all over the world, and proselytes are constantly being made, especially among the black races, to whom Islam offers peculiar fascination. The absence of aristocratic feeling amongst Mussulmans is the first cause of attraction. A black man on becoming a Mussulman is received on the same social and political footing as other Mussulmans and to the fullest extent. He marries the daughters of white Mussulmans, and obtains the highest grades in the service. Even at Constantinople, black officers of considerable rank may be occasionally seen occupying the same position and surrounded with the same deference as other officers of their rank, and they are equally eligible for more exalted functions. I am told on the highest authority, and it is confirmed also by French writers, that the French are watching the development of Moslemism among the blacks with great anxiety. In Senegal whole districts of blacks have been converted to the Mussulman faith, in which they become fanatical, and the blacks are a warlike race from whom it is well known good fighting soldiers are to be enlisted.

Unfortunately, the hatred of Christians, to a great extent mitigated elsewhere, has of late been revived by the high-handed action of the French in Tunis, and by our recent war in the Soudan. I have with me a remarkable pamphlet published in 1884 by the Geographical Society of Paris, the work of M. H. Duveyrier. It is entitled "La Confrérie Musulmane de Sidi Mohammed Ben'Alî Es-Senoussî," and gives full details of the ramifications of the order, with a map of the countries to which they extend. The influence of the Brotherhood, and the material power it has achieved, form a very striking narrative. Unfortunately, one of the bases of its tenets is enmity to those not of the Mussulman creed, and it has at times not hesitated to strike at the highest of Mussulmans, having gone so far even at an early stage of its existence in 1861 as to excommunicate the Sultan Abdul-Medjid for neglecting its prescriptions.

M. Duveyrier states that Mohammed Ben Dhâfer, commonly called Taffar, to whom I have alluded in former despatches as living at Yildiz in the most intimate confidence of the Sultan, is the representative of the sect, though, as I have been informed, he is the founder of a sect himself, and Rizha Bey, a member of the Privy Council, is said also to be an agent of the confraternity. At Mecca, a house which was the last residence of the founder of the sect, built near the tombs of Adam, Eve, and Seth, has been turned into a "zaouiya" or convent and guest-house, with a library of 8,000 volumes, and establishments of the same kind are said to exist in Arabia and Yemen.

As your Lordship will have gathered from my previous despatches, the Sultan, apart from this one sect, is fully alive to the vitality of the movement, which he follows closely. I believe that the delay in my negotiations has been owing to his frequent communications with the Sheikhs, perhaps at distant places, and it is singular that almost simultaneously with the statement volunteered by the Arabs, as reported in my despatch No. 48 of the 9th instant, that they would support the Khedive, His Imperial Majesty has sent to His Highness his highest decoration.

The objects pursued by the Sultan are twofold. In the first place, he wishes to conciliate Mussulman sentiment to keep him at Constantinople. In the second, in

view of any possible contingencies, he wishes to secure himself in the Caliphate against any possible move that may be made to transfer it to the Shereef of Mecca.

His Imperial Majesty has pursued his policy with considerable shrewdness. He has been hoarding money for future contingencies, but he gives considerable sums to the Arab Sheikhs. He has taken great interest in the development of education among his subjects, and has adopted a plan, invented elsewhere by the Senoussians, of opening schools for girls.

With these views, I have hopes that the Convention, now, I trust, concluded, may be productive of more than one advantage. The dispatch of Turkish troops to Egypt or the Soudan would have perhaps brought the Caliphate into collision with Arab feelings and introduced into Egypt an element of danger. But the pacific mission of the Turkish High Commissioner will, I believe, have a different effect. It will regularize in the minds of the Mussulmans the influence of the Khedive, which has been much shaken since his alliance with us both against his own subjects and the Mussulmans of the Soudan. It recognizes with all the authority of the Caliph our own position in Egypt, and will facilitate the pacification of the Arab tribes in the south, and finally it may pave the way to a friendly understanding with the Mussulman world, which I believe would be of inestimable advantage, should the policy of the three Emperors succeed, namely, that of localizing in Asia the struggle which I fear must sooner or later come between England and Russia.

I have, &c.

(Signed) H. DRUMMOND WOLFF.

No. 214.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received October 24.)

(No. 57.)

My Lord, *Pera, October 20, 1885.*

YESTERDAY I came to Pera to see the Grand Vizier and to dine with Count Corti.

I remained with the former only a few minutes. He informed me that the Mazbata had been sent the night before to the Sultan, and that he was hourly expecting the Iradé.

Shortly after returning to my hotel, however, I received a telegram from Munir Pasha, First Dragoman and Master of the Ceremonies, begging me to wait for him, as having missed me at Therapia he desired to communicate to me personally a message from his Imperial Master. On arriving he informed me that the Sultan invited me to dine alone with him to-day, as he desired to discuss with me confidentially certain matters which he delivered to me as a message.

The message was twofold: one portion relating to a matter not connected with my mission, the second to the clause concerning recruitment. He did not go into any details, but merely stated that the Sultan wished me to be ready to converse with him on these points. I begged Munir Pasha, before he left me, to press on His Imperial Majesty the urgent necessity of bringing matters to a close, as I was obliged to go to Egypt immediately.

Later in the evening, after having first sent to make an appointment, a gentleman called on me who is in the confidence of the Sultan and the Grand Vizier. He had been charged by the latter to supplicate me not to insist on the clause relative to recruitment. His Imperial Majesty would, if asked later by the Khedive, send him recruits, but it would be most damaging to himself and most fatal to his influence, both religious and political, in Egypt, to bind himself by a public covenant to do so. The Iradé had been signed, and the Convention could at once be concluded less these two points. The Sultan was now anxious for the completion of the arrangement, but this question of the public covenant to send Turkish troops to Egypt could not be got over in the mind of His Imperial Majesty. His Imperial Majesty is perfectly aware of the unpopularity of the Turks in Egypt. The Egyptian army, though forming a separate body, was an integral portion of the Turkish army, and had always served as such in war time. It would be an offence and a slur to the Egyptians for His Imperial Majesty to undertake, at the instance of England, to alter the conditions under which that army had always existed. The great object of the Convention was for England and Turkey to co-operate in Egypt. The very announcement of the co-operation had already had a considerable effect, and His Imperial Majesty was

convinced that in a very short time he could by pacific means restore order in the Soudan. All this would be imperilled if we insisted on the recruitment clause. The Sultan was now on the best terms with the Khedive, and would give him every assistance he could. But, again, your Lordship was implored not to insist on the insertion in a public document of a clause which would vitally interfere with the value and success of the remainder.

I confess I was much struck with this reasoning, having myself had more than once doubts of the expediency of the Article in question. The words as they stood originally: "Les deux Commissaires réorganiseront, de concert avec Son Altesse le Khédive, l'armée Égyptienne," imply everything necessary, and are rather weakened than strengthened by the subsequent words: "et le Gouvernement Impérial accordera dans ce but les facilités qui seront reconnues nécessaires." If the Sultan goes into the work unwillingly, which is not now the case, it will be easy for him, by instructions to the Commissioner, to throw difficulties in our way. If, on the other hand, we do not press for the introduction of words which will compromise, or which His Imperial Majesty thinks will compromise, his influence with the Egyptians, or with the Mussulmans of the Soudan, we shall have some title to his good-will.

Your Lordship may recollect that when I left England the impression was that the Sultan wished to send battalions to Egypt while we desired them to be sent to Suakin and the Soudan. Since then all has changed. The wishes of the Sultan had either been misrepresented or have been altered, whilst our own officers now deprecate a withdrawal from Suakin. Other considerations have also been modified. The attitude of the Sultan and of the populations towards the Khedive Tewfik have been much improved, and this improvement may be weakened by our insisting on a clause apparently so distasteful to the Sultan.

So long as I thought from the Sultan's arguments that his objections lay to the removal of troops to an extent which might weaken the Imperial army, I considered the reasoning inadequate. But the present objections, whether an afterthought or not, fall into the range of the appreciation I have arrived at of the situation of the Sultan towards his non-Turkish subjects.

Small items of information constantly reach me, fitting in with, and confirming the general views I have more than once laid before your Lordship.

Beyond this, I consider from our own point of view that the juxtaposition of Turks with Egyptians, however desirable, need not be proclaimed in too public a manner. At all events, I do not think that, by insisting on the publication, we ought to shipwreck an arrangement in other respects beneficial.

The reorganization of the army is a necessary preliminary to our withdrawal. If Turkish troops are essential for the purpose and they are withheld, we do not withdraw. If they can be dispensed with, then there is no need for insisting on their presence beforehand.

With respect to the Slave Trade, the Sultan could not admit that he had failed in the fulfilment of a Convention still in existence. The Grand Vizier, however, would not object to a change of notes simultaneously with the signature of the Convention, embodying the terms contained in the Article.

To this compromise I thought there could be no objection.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. DRUMMOND WOLFF.

No. 215.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received October 24, 10·30 P.M.)

(No. 76.)
(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, October* 24, 1885, 7·34 P.M.

I HAVE just signed the Convention with the Minister for Foreign Affairs. As there were difficulties about English and Turkish texts, we agreed to accept the French text as binding. After signing I called on the Grand Vizier, who told me, first, that we should find the Sultan willing to grant us all the facilities required, but it was inconsistent with his dignity to undertake obligations towards a vassal in a general manner by Convention; secondly, if anything were pointed out to His Imperial Majesty as being required in practice for the suppression of the Slave Trade, his Government would at once consider it and co-operate in our exertions, but as a Convention on the subject was already in existence, His Imperial Majesty did not see the necessity of any further general engagement.

Saïd Pasha begged me not to fix day of my departure till he could tell whether Sultan wished to see me or no.

No. 216.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received October 24, 11·30 P.M.)

(No. 77.)
(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, October* 24, 1885, 11·5 P.M.

THE ratifications are to be exchanged in fifteen days at Constantinople. I wished it to be London, but, finding the space filled in otherwise, did not think it worth while to insist on fresh copies.

As original only leaves this on Monday, there will be but little time for receipt here of ratifications unless prepared at once.

No. 217.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury—(Received October 25, 5 P.M.)

(No. 78.)
(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, October* 25, 1885, 2·39 P.M.

THE Sultan sends to say he will see me to-morrow morning. I therefore propose to leave in the afternoon, and hope to reach Alexandria on Thursday morning.

No. 218.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir E. Malet.

(No. 470. Ext. 143.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, October* 25, 1885.

I HAVE learnt from Sir H. Drummond Wolff that the Convention between this country and Turkey with regard to the affairs of Egypt has at length been signed; and I have to request that your Excellency will express to Count Bismarck the gratitude of Her Majesty's Government for the assistance given to Sir H. Drummond Wolff during his conduct of the negotiations by the German Ambassador at Constantinople.

I am, &c.
(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 219.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received October 29, 5·40 P.M.)

(Telegraphic.) *Cairo, October* 29, 1885.

JUST arrived.

No. 220.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received October 30, 10 A.M.)

(No. 79.)
(Telegraphic.) *Cairo, October* 30, 1885, 9·40 A.M.

PLEASE recollect that if ratification does not leave London to-morrow it will not reach Conttantinople in time. So, if there is any difficulty, Sir W. White and Saïd Pasha should sign a Protocol of Prolongation.

Could your Lordship urge on the Porte, through Musurus, necessity of at once

naming Turkish Commissioner? The news from the frontier is bad, and I wish to get there as soon as possible, but could do no good without him.

I have sent a message to that effect through Sir W. White to Saïd Pasha.

No. 221.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir H. Drummond Wolff.

(No. 48.)

Foreign Office, October 30, 1885.

Sir,

I HAVE received your despatch No. 52, Confidential, of the 16th instant, forwarding copy of a note which you addressed on the previous day to the Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs relative to the delay which has taken place in the conclusion of the Convention, and explaining the reasons for which it was impossible for you to defer any longer your departure for Egypt.

The terms of your note to Saïd Pasha are approved by Her Majesty's Government.

I am, &c.

(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 222.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received October 31.)

(No. 58. Confidential.)

Pera, October 23, 1885.

My Lord,

I HAD the honour on Tuesday, the 20th instant, of dining with His Imperial Majesty the Sultan.

His Imperial Majesty, before dinner, begged me to urge on your Lordship to take further steps to restrain Servia and Greece.

I replied that this was the province of Sir William White, on which His Imperial Majesty asked me to communicate with your Lordship privately, saying himself in French, "particulièrement."

During and after dinner I had a long conversation with His Imperial Majesty, who informed me that he was preparing a Memorandum on the Egyptian question, but that it was not quite ready; that he wished to discuss the matter confidentially with me, so as to lead to a very close understanding between the two countries. His Imperial Majesty said that his representations to England had never been attended to: some years ago he had offered to settle the Egyptian question, which he could easily have done; and he had also warned the British Government of what was about to happen in Afghanistan. But his advice had been neglected.

His Imperial Majesty, on my leaving, invited me to a private audience for the next day; but this was subsequently deferred.

During dinner, I thanked His Imperial Majesty for the steam-launch which he had placed at my disposal, and commended to the favour of His Imperial Majesty the officers and crew, who had worked for us with great attention and courtesy.

His Imperial Majesty replied, "They are all promoted a grade;" and gave orders at once to Ghazi Osman Pasha, who was sitting next him, to see the promotion carried out.

I have, &c.

(Signed) H. DRUMMOND WOLFF.

No. 223.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received October 31.)

(No. 60. Confidential.)

Pera, October 24, 1885.

My Lord,

WITH reference to my despatch No. 59 of this date, it is necessary that I should explain the reason for the Memorandum adopting the French text as the text of interpretation.

Both English and Turkish texts had been translated from the French, and, at the

No. 222*.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received October 31.)

(No. 59.)

Pera, October 24, 1885.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to transmit to your Lordship by this messenger the original Convention signed this day by his Excellency Saïd Pasha, Minister for Foreign Affairs, and myself.

I also inclose a Memorandum, signed by us in duplicate, adopting the French text as the text of interpretation. This was done owing to the difficulty of conciliating the English with the Turkish text, both being translated from the French.

I have, &c.

(Signed) H. DRUMMOND WOLFF.

Inclosure in No. 222*.

Convention between Her Majesty and the Sultan of Turkey, relative to Egyptian Affairs. Signed at Constantinople, October 24, 1885.—(*Presented to Parliament in January* 1886.

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last moment, when the Turkish text was revised by Mr. Marinitch, we found in it an insurmountable difficulty in the word, "aviseront."

In Article II, where it occurs, the Turkish writer had translated it by a Turkish word meaning to "seek for" or "search for;" but when it came to the VIth Article the word had been turned into a Turkish expression, meaning "shall begin." Between these two phrases there was, in Turkish, no middle term. Mr. Marinitch was about two hours with the Turkish draftsmen, trying to find a suitable word, but did not succeed in doing so. On the other hand, the Turks declared that the word used by us, "consult," was a not more satisfactory rendering than their own of the word "aviser;" and, in order to cut short a long discussion, I proposed the adoption of the French text, which had been the one discussed in our negotiations.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. DRUMMOND WOLFF.

No. 224.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received October 31.)

(No. 61.)
My Lord, *Pera, October* 24, 1885.

IN my despatch No. 59 of this day's date, I transmit to your Lordship the original copy of the Convention signed this day.

Perhaps your Lordship will allow me to recapitulate the various points on which, as far as I can judge this instrument, may prove of advantage.

In the first place, the conclusion of an arrangement of any kind has done much to allay the irritation that has existed for some time in the minds of the Turks towards England.

In saying this, I do not wish in any way to criticize the past, but it is beyond a doubt that the irritation has existed, and has done much to diminish the influence which Her Majesty's Government ought to exercise in the dominions of the Sultan.

Secondly, the appointment of English and Turkish Commissioners in Egypt for the objects proposed establishes in the most formal manner the existence of a good understanding between the two countries. It recognizes and adopts the fact of our occupation with the same publicity, and the Sultan as Sovereign of Egypt and Caliph of his religion thus solemnly calls on his temporal and spiritual subjects to concur in the measures which will be jointly recommended.

Both the legitimate sovereignty and the *de facto* occupation are acknowledged, and the forces of both are to be utilized for the purposes of a permanent settlement.

This will have a tendency to soften much bitterness of feeling both against ourselves and the Khedive Tewfik, whilst the experience of the Sultan's Commissioner, if wisely chosen, will be useful in the elaboration of institutions which must combine both eastern and western elements.

The same reasoning will hold good with respect to the negotiations in the Soudan. It must doubtless have been very difficult for English gentlemen, however able and conciliatory, to come to terms with races who had suffered so severely at our hands.

The negotiations which are to be undertaken, with our assent and countenance, but between the Caliph and those who recognize his authority, are more likely to lead to a rapid and satisfactory result.

The organization of the army is a question on which I will venture to make some observations to your Lordship in another despatch.

In Article VI the understanding between the two countries is completed.

In the former Articles they have agreed to act in harmony and with the constituted authorities of the country, so as to establish a sound and orderly state of things. In this Article the occupation by England is recognized, and, I may say, legalized by the recognition of the Sultan, and no attempt has been made, as before, to fix any abrupt limit for its duration.

The Government of Great Britain has repeatedly announced its intention of an ultimate withdrawal, but notwithstanding this announcement, the Sultan has more than once asked for a term to be fixed which Her Majesty's Government were obliged to refuse—a demand which has on both sides given rise to misunderstandings.

The two Governments, by this Convention, have undertaken to acknowledge in the fullest manner their mutual positions. The existing state of things is recognized as the

basis for a new departure. The preparations and preliminaries are to be arranged amicably, and when an organization is established under which Egypt may be left to her own resources, then, and not till then, will the two Governments advise together as to when the ultimate withdrawal is to take place, and agree as to the conditions which are to precede and follow that event.

The foregoing may, perhaps, be considered too optimist a view of the probable issues of the late arrangement, but these were the views which induced me to recommend it to the sanction of Her Majesty, and I can only hope that they may not be disappointed.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. DRUMMOND WOLFF.

No. 225.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received October 31.)

(No. 62.) *Pera, October 24, 1885.*

My Lord,

WITH reference to my despatch No. 61 of this day's date, I now venture to offer a few remarks on the points in the Treaty which have not been agreed to.

From the very first, His Imperial Majesty the Sultan expressed great unwillingness to enter into any Agreement binding him to allow the recruitment of troops for Egypt in Turkey.

A fear that this engagement would interfere with the enlistment of soldiers for his own army, vague apprehensions of different kinds, the jealousy existing in other provinces of the Empire of the autonomy of Egypt, and various other causes, seemed daily to augment the repugnance of the Sultan towards this provision. I also think that influences may have been employed to stimulate this disinclination.

There was also a dislike on the part of His Imperial Majesty to enter into a Treaty engagement binding him to his vassal.

In vain did I endeavour to devise formulas which might remove these objections. One removed, another rose; and I saw the futility of proceeding further in this direction. But there were three principal considerations which induced me to think that it would be better to dispense with the wording objected to:—

1. His Imperial Majesty, in the interview I had the honour of holding with him on Tuesday, expressed to me the hope that the two Governments could come to an understanding to prevent any other Power from at any time occupying Egypt.

2. I received assurances from the Grand Vizier, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, and other Ministers, that His Imperial Majesty would not object to grant facilities when asked for by the Commissioners or the Khedive; that he would do so in practice, but without entering into any general engagement.

3 (And this weighed very much with me). It occurred to me, on again reading the separate Act annexed to the Convention signed at London in 1840, that the army of Egypt had been created by the Vth and VIth Articles of that instrument, and that a separate Convention touching the provisions of that Treaty, and concluded between two only of the parties, might technically give to the others a *locus standi* for making claims of an inconvenient character. M. de Nelidow, though I cannot complain of his general demeanour towards me, had been making remarks at different times on the subject of my negotiations, and was clearly on the look-out for some loophole through which he might interpose a claim for intervention. I therefore thought it right strongly to recommend to your Lordship the adoption of the Convention without the additional words we had previously required in Article III.

Those words were practically of no value. They added very little to the obligations morally undertaken by the Sultan in consenting to co-operate in the reorganization of the army. That process must take place before we can be in any way called on even to contemplate withdrawal, and the omission of words comparatively of minor significance removes the risk to which they exposed us on the score of foreign intervention.

The next point is the Article relative to the Slave Trade. The Sultan declared it to be offensive to him to be called on to renew in a general Convention engagements already established in other Conventions now existing. He had neither contravened nor neglected them. If any recommendation were made of a practical character for the better carrying out of existing engagements, His Imperial Majesty would be glad to consider them. But he entirely objected to throw doubt on his former engagements by renewing them. As I

telegraphed to your Lordship, however, since the signature of the Convention, I have received from the Grand Vizier satisfactory assurances on both these heads.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. DRUMMOND WOLFF.

P.S.—I understand that during the Congo negotiations at Berlin the Ottoman Plenipotentiaries were called on to make some declaration about the Slave Trade. I do not know the exact nature, but the Sultan objected to the incessant demands for renewing existing engagements.

H. D. W.

No. 226.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received October 31.)

(No. 63.) *Pera, October 26, 1885.*

My Lord,

IT is impossible for me to leave Constantinople without placing on record the deep sense of gratitude I feel towards Sir William White for his personal kindness during my stay here, and the cordial manner in which he has given me every assistance in his power to further my mission.

His advice, experience, and practical knowledge are of very great value, and of these he has constantly and ungrudgingly given me the full benefit in the course of my negotiations.

My task would have been far more difficult, and at times almost impossible, without his kind encouragement and counsel.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. DRUMMOND WOLFF.

No. 227.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received October 31.)

(No. 64.) *Pera, October 26, 1885.*

My Lord,

ON leaving Constantinople I venture to bring before the notice of your Lordship the very valuable services rendered to my mission by Mr. H. Marinitch, Second Dragoman of Her Majesty's Embassy.

Those services were placed at my disposal by Sir William White on my arrival here, and have been rendered with untiring zeal and intelligence during the whole time of my stay.

I feel under a deep sense of obligation to Mr. Marinitch, and I have the honour to recommend him to your Lordship's favour.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. DRUMMOND WOLFF.

No. 227*.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received October 31, 11 A.M.)

(Private.)
(Telegraphic.) *Cairo, October 31, 1885, 8·20 A.M.*

BARRÈRE is away, but returns in a day or two. Is there anything you would wish me [to do] to pave the way to an understanding with France?

Can you tell me what are your present relations with French Government?

No. 228.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received October 31, 1·30 P.M.)

(No. 81.)
(Telegraphic.) *Cairo, October 31, 1885, 9·15 A.M.*

FOLLOWING sent to Sir W. White:—

"As it is laid down in the Convention that the Turkish Commissioner and the Khedive's Delegate are to be the negotiators in the Soudan, I can myself do nothing alone. Things are very urgent, however, as the Soudanese are massing men on the frontier, and this might lead to conflicts and even further expeditions.

"Reinforcements are being sent to frontier.

"Please tell this to the Grand Vizier and to Minister for Foreign Affairs from me, and press the nomination and dispatch of the Commissioner. Matters are serious."

No. 229.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received October 31, 2 P.M.)

(No. 82.)
(Telegraphic.) *Cairo, October 31, 1885, 12·35 P.M.*

HAD public audience of the Khedive; delivered your Lordship's letter and read the address as amended.

His Highness, in answer, said that all the measures concerted by Her Majesty's Government and the Government of the Sultan tending to assure the security and to develop the happiness of Egypt would receive his most earnest concurrence.

His Highness subsequently called upon me, and, on leaving, expressed his gratitude for the support of Her Majesty's Government.

No. 230.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir W. White.

(No. 173.)
(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, October 31, 1885, 5·25 P.M.*

HER Majesty's ratification of Convention cannot arrive within stipulated time. Ask Saïd Pasha to sign Protocol extending the period for a fortnight.

Telegraph result to me.

No. 231.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir H. Drummond Wolff.

(No. 39. Secret.)
(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, November 1, 1885, 8 A.M.*

YOUR private telegram of yesterday.

We are on fairly good terms with French Government, but French subordinates in all parts of the world are very hostile.

As to Egypt, we have communicated little. I have let M. Waddington know what we were doing at each stage, and after the proposal for Turkish troops was dropped he expressed general approval; but we have not discussed Egypt. He has hinted several times a desire to revive something like the Dual Control. I have contented myself with lamenting the demise of that arrangement.

We are at a deadlock over the Egyptian Press Law, and are trying to obtain the help of other Powers to squeeze France into accepting our proposals, but I doubt our success, for Austria is very different from the Austria of seven years ago, and generally combines with Russia against us. In Egypt you will specially find this to be the case.

Of course you know Barrère's extreme hostility to England.

I will urge Musurus, if I see him on Monday, to get the Turkish Commissioner sent out.

No. 232.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received November 1, 8 P.M.)

(No. 84.)
(Telegraphic.) *Cairo, November 1, 1885, 7·20 P.M.*

I HOPE it is not contemplated to make at present any further reductions in forces here. Reports are current to that effect. While negotiations are going on, any reduction would be prejudicial, not to say dangerous, especially in the present menacing attitude of the Soudanese.

No. 233.

Sir E. Malet to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received November 2.)

(No. 532.)
My Lord, *Berlin, October 31, 1885.*

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that, on receiving your Lordship's telegram No. 143 of the 25th instant, I went to Count Bismarck and informed him that I had come, under instructions from your Lordship, to express to him the gratitude of Her Majesty's Government for the assistance which had been given by the German Ambassador at Constantinople in the negotiations which Sir Drummond Wolff had carried on for the conclusion of a Convention with the Porte regarding Egypt—negotiations which had been happily terminated by the signature of the Convention.

Count Bismarck said that he was sure that it would give the Chancellor much satisfaction to hear of the message with which I had been intrusted.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWARD B. MALET.

No. 234.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir H. Drummond Wolff.

(No. 40.)
(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, November 2, 1885, 4 P.M.*

YOUR telegram No. 83 of yesterday.

I have informed Admiralty.

No. 235.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir H. Drummond Wolff.

(No. 41.)
(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, November 2, 1885, 4 P.M.*

YOUR telegram No. 84 of yesterday.

I have been told no reductions will be made at present.

No. 236.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received November 2, 6 P.M.)

(No. 85. Secret and Confidential.)
(Telegraphic.) *Cairo, November 2, 1885, 4·20 P.M.*

ITALIAN Consul-General called on me and said that he had instructions from Count Robilant to have friendly and confidential conversation with me about Massowah.

He said no Italian Government could ever withdraw, and it was necessary at once to regularize their position.

They propose that the Egyptian Governor should have leave of absence on some pretext, that the Turkish flag should continue to fly, but that Italian authorities should

organize the Administration. If this be refused Italy would take matter into her own hands.

Nubar Pasha would leave the Italians, if they think fit, to proceed by force, as any collusive act on the part of Egyptian Government would compromise them with Turkey. Mr. Egerton and Colonel Chermside are of this opinion. I myself think any action on the part of Italy would greatly hinder our proposed pacific negotiations.

I would venture strongly to recommend to your Lordship that a communication should at once be made to Rome alluding to Italian Consul-General's conversation with me, and strongly urging Italian Minister for Foreign Affairs to defer taking any steps in this matter till the arrival here of the Turkish Commissioner. There is nothing to necessitate haste on the part of Italy, with whom precipitation at present would be unfriendly to us.

Italian Consul-General on other matters was most kind, and promised me every assistance.

No. 237.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received November 2, 4·15 P.M.)

(No. 86.)
(Telegraphic.) *Cairo, November 2, 1885.*

GENERAL GRENFELL seems really apprehensive of an attempt at invasion. Nubar Pasha, however, writes me that the Government have better news from the Soudan, and that Sennaar has not fallen; the garrison, on the contrary, is advancing northward and has with it three powerful tribes.

In treating another question, I have expressed to General Stephenson my great desire to avoid capital punishment for past offences in Soudan.

Nubar Pasha is of this opinion.

No. 238.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir W. White.

(No. 177.)
(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, November 2, 1885, 7·15 P.M.*

WOLFF'S telegram to you of 31st ultimo.

Do what you can to obtain speedy appointment and departure of Turkish Commissioner. I have sent a message to Musurus.

No. 239.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir W. White.

(No. 403. Ext. 177.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, November 2, 1885.*

WITH reference to the telegraphic despatch sent to you by Sir H. D. Wolff on the 31st ultimo, requesting you to impress on the Grand Vizier, and on the Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs, the importance of hastening the departure of the Turkish Commissioner for Egypt, I requested you to-day, by telegraph, to use your best endeavours to induce the Porte to appoint and dispatch the Turkish Commissioner.

I mentioned at the same time that I have sent a message to Musurus Pasha in a similar sense.

I am, &c.
(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 240.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received November 2, 11·30 P.M.)

(No. 87.)
(Telegraphic.) *Cairo, November 2, 1885, 10·50 P.M.*

AFTER speaking with General Stephenson and Mr. Egerton, I think it desirable that Stuart-Wortley should go across the western oasis to Siwah, to examine the trade routes, and to inquire into the transit of arms from Tripoli to the Soudan. He will not leave Egyptian territory, but may obtain some information about Senoussi.

If you approve, I will send him at once.

No. 241.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received November 3, 3·20 P.M.)

(No. 88. Secret and Confidential.)
(Telegraphic.) *Cairo, November 3, 1885.*

A MOVEMENT is on foot to appoint Chérif Pasha Egyptian Commissioner. Nubar Pasha wants Abd-el-Kader. I spoke to the Khedive to-day, who did not give me satisfactory answer. The French are probably at the bottom of this

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No. 242.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir H. Drummond Wolff.

(No. 42.)
(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, November 3, 1885, 4·10 P.M.*

YOUR telegram No. 85 of yesterday.

I will communicate with Italian Government in sense desired.

No. 243.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir H. Drummond Wolff.

(No. 43.)
(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, November 3, 1885, 4·20 P.M.*

YOUR telegram No. 87 of yesterday.

I have no objection.

No. 244.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir J. S. Lumley.

(No. 94.)
(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, November 3, 1885, 4·30 P.M.*

COUNT NIGRA has asked me to induce Egypt to take away Governor from Massowah that Italy may have free hand. Same has been said at Cairo to Wolff.

Tell Minister for Foreign Affairs that moment is ill-chosen: for just now, whilst Soudan is in agitation, Egypt cannot incur suspicion of Sultan.

Our own attitude as to Italian occupation of Massowah is unchanged.

No. 245.

Sir W. White to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received November 3, 7·15 P.M.)

(No. 174.)
(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, November 3, 1885, 6·30 P.M.*

YOUR Lordship's telegram No. 173 of the 31st October.

Saïd Pasha declares his readiness to sign Protocol extending period for ratifications. It might be as well to send me a printed form by to-morrow's messenger.

No. 246.

Sir W. White to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received November 3, 7·15 P.M.)

(No. 175.)
(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, November 3, 1885, 6·38 P.M.*

YOUR Lordship's telegram No. 177 of yesterday.

I continue pressing for the appointment of the Imperial Commissioner. Obstruction at the Palace. Grand Vizier and Saïd Pasha have both promised to make fresh representations to the Sultan, and former, who is very obliging, gave me hopes of an appointment being made in a few days.

No. 247.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received November 4, 1 P.M.)

(No. 89.)
(Telegraphic.) *Cairo, November 4, 1885, 12·15 P.M.*

MY telegram No. 88.

Khedive wishes to appoint Chérif Pasha, in the hopes of driving Nubar Pasha to resign. I shall, subject to your approval, tell Khedive that your Lordship expects that no appointment will be made without assent of Her Majesty's Government.

Some Pashas at Palace, who are in favour of Ismaïl Pasha, are pushing on this intrigue, and I fear Chérif Pasha is lending himself to it.

No. 248.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir W. White.

(No 179.)
(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, November 4, 1885, 1 P.M.*

RATIFICATION of Convention will be sent by messenger this evening.

No. 249.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir H. Drummond Wolff.

(No. 44.)
(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, November 4, 1885, 4 P.M.*

YOUR telegram No. 87 of 2nd.

Please report probable cost of Stuart-Wortley's journey to Siwah.

No. 250.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir W. White.

(No. 408.)

Foreign Office, November 4, 1885.

Sir,

I TRANSMIT herewith copy of a despatch from Sir H. D. Wolff,* bearing testimony to the valuable assistance rendered to him by you during his recent negotiations with the Porte.

I gladly avail myself of this opportunity of expressing to you the thanks of Her Majesty's Government for the cordial manner in which you have supported Sir H. D. Wolff, and for the judicious advice which has facilitated, in no small degree, the execution of the task intrusted to him by Her Majesty's Government.

I am, &c.
(Signed) SALISBURY.

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* No. 225.

No. 251.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received November 5, 10 A.M.)

(No. 91.)
(Telegraphic.) *Cairo, November 5, 1885, 8·15 A.M.*

NEWS from the front necessitates reinforcements. General Grenfell wants an English and an Egyptian battalion. Latter cannot be sent without diminishing force here both of Egyptian army and police in a serious manner, and it would be of little good on the frontier. A second English battalion should be dispatched. Could one or two more battalions be sent here from England? I have spoken to General Stephenson, and telegraph with his acquiescence. I strongly recommend that this should, if possible, be done at once.

Please reply.

No. 252.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received November 5, 11 A.M.)

(No. 93.)
(Telegraphic.) *Cairo, November 5, 1885, 10·55 A.M.*

YOUR telegram No. 44.

I cannot at present give you an estimate of Wortley's expenses, as Nubar Pasha is preparing the way for him, and they will be made as little as possible.

I think his journey would be most useful to discover track of trade going on in arms between Tripoli and the Soudan. Perhaps you would name a round sum which he must not exceed.

I propose, under any circumstances, to send him on at once to Wady Halfa to communicate with General Grenfell, and, under his directions, to go to places where he may obtain local information which I shall require in the Soudan negotiations.

No. 253.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received November 5, 4 P.M.)

(No. 95.)
(Telegraphic.) *Cairo, November 5, 1885.*

I PROPOSE, with your Lordship's sanction, to ask General Stephenson to instruct General Grenfell to let it be known that we are quite willing to come to peaceful arrangement with the Soudanese, while we are determined to resist, in the strongest manner, any advance on Egyptian territory.

As soon as I hear of the appointment of Turkish Commissioner, the Soudanese might be informed of his approaching arrival, as I am anxious to prevent, if possible, any collision.

No. 254.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir H. Drummond Wolff.

(No. 47.)
(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, November 5, 1885, 4·50 P.M.*

YOUR telegram No. 91 sent to War Office.

No. 92 to Admiralty.

Applications for reinforcements should be sent by General direct to War Office.

No. 255.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received November 5, 5·40 P.M.)

(No. 96. Confidential.)
(Telegraphic.) *Cairo, November 5, 1885, 4·45 P.M.*

HAS your Lordship yet communicated with Rothschilds as to plan for farming Domain lands proposed by Nubar Pasha in his letter to Mr. Egerton of the 24th October?

M. de Bouteron objects to the farming of remaining lands, and tells me that the proposal has placed his employés in a state of mutiny, which, on the other hand, is denied. He also requires guarantees from those proposing to lease them.

Government say, as there is a guarantee at the back of the Domains for the loan, the farming of the lands even at loss would not affect bondholders; but they say there will be no such loss.

M. de Bouteron wishes to postpone the farming till a general scheme for the whole property can be carried out.

If Rothschilds back him up, a very awkward question might arise. Could you ascertain from them their real feelings?

I think Government scheme presents great advantages.

No. 256.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir H. Drummond Wolff.

(No. 48.)
(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, November 5, 1885, 6·35 P.M.*

YOUR telegram No. 95 of to-day.

As hostile aggression has apparently commenced in the Soudan, any action of the kind you propose must be with the full assent of the military authorities, and of their superiors at home.

With this reserve, I concur.

No. 257.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir H. Drummond Wolff.

(No. 51. Ext. 48.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, November 5, 1885.*

I HAVE received your telegraphic despatch No. 95 of to-day's date, suggesting that the Soudanese should be informed that Her Majesty's Government are quite willing to come to a peaceful arrangement with them, but that any advance on Egyptian territory will be met with determined opposition.

In reply, I have informed you, by telegraph, that I concur in your proposal, but with the reservation that an aggressive movement against Egyptian territory has apparently already commenced: any action of the kind you suggest must only be made with the full assent of the British military authorities in Egypt, and of their superiors in this country.

I am, &c.
(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 258.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir H. Drummond Wolff.

(No. 49.)
(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, November 5, 1885, 6·40 P.M.*

YOUR telegram No. 89 of yesterday.

I approve your proposed communication to the Khedive as to appointment of Egyptian Commissioner. It should be made very courteously.

No. 259.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir H. Drummond Wolff.

(No. 50. Ext. 49.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, November 5, 1885.*

WITH reference to your telegraphic despatches Nos. 88 and 89 of the 3rd and 4th instant respectively on the subject of the appointment of the Egyptian Commissioner, who is to assist your Turkish colleague in the pacification of the Soudan, I informed you to-day, by telegraph, that I approved of your informing the Khedive that Her Majesty's Government expect that no appointment will be made without their assent being previously obtained.

You will, of course, be careful to make this communication to His Highness in the most courteous manner.

I am, &c.
(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 260.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received November 6, 10 A.M.)

(No. 97.)
(Telegraphic.) *Cairo, November 6, 1885, 9·50 A.M.*

YOUR telegram No. 48.

Would it not perhaps be well for your Lordship to communicate to the military authorities in London the suggestions contained in my telegram No. 95? They would refer them to General Stephenson, with whom I will discuss them.

It would, I think, be a great misfortune if hostilities were to recommence without some attempt to avoid them, and a repetition of former errors.

No. 261.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir H. Drummond Wolff.

(No. 50.)
(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, November 6, 1885, 5·40 P.M.*

YOUR telegram No. 93 of yesterday.

An approximate estimate is absolutely necessary. We do not wish to tie you down too tightly to it, but must have some indications of probable amount.

No. 262.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir H. Drummond Wolff.

(No. 51.)
(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, November 6, 1885, 5·45 P.M.*

YOUR telegram No. 94 of yesterday.

War Office and Foreign Office communicate to one another all telegrams containing military news.

No. 263.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir H. Drummond Wolff.

(No. 52.)
(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, November 6, 1885, 7·15 P.M.*

YOUR telegram No. 83 of 1st.

Three vessels already guarding coast. Admiral has now sent "Dolphin" to Suakin.

No. 264.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir H. Drummond Wolff.

(No. 53.)
(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, November* 6, 1885, 7·20 P.M.

YOUR telegram No. 96 of yesterday.

Letter from Messrs. Rothschild will be sent to you by to-night's mail with instructions.

No. 265.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received November 7, 10·30 A.M.)

(No. 98.)
(Telegraphic.) *Cairo, November* 7, 1885.

YOUR No. 50.

With consent of General, I have sent word to Grenfell to obtain information for me against arrival of Turkish High Commissioner. The Siwah expedition may therefore be postponed for the present, and I will later send estimate.

No. 266.

Sir W. White to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received November 7, 10 P.M.)

(No. 184. Secret.)
(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, November* 7, 1885, 7·35 P.M.

I AM told, very confidentially, that Moukhtar Pasha, the famous General, is to be the Commissioner for Egypt, and to have a civilian as Assistant for political questions.

(Sent to Sir H. D. Wolff.)

No. 267.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received November 8, 11 A.M.)

(No. 99.)
(Telegraphic.) *Cairo, November* 8, 1885, 10·55 A.M.

FOLLOWING sent to White :—

"I hear indirectly that the Khedive is very anxious at the delay in appointing Commissioner. It is doing much harm among population, and quite paralyzes my action.

"Ali Nizami, whose name was mentioned, is, I believe, a very good man."

No. 268.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received November 8, 4·15 P.M.)

(No. 100.)
(Telegraphic.) *Cairo, November* 8, 1885, 3·15 P.M.

THE Khedive and Nubar Pasha inform me of Moukhtar's appointment.

The date of his departure is not yet fixed; he will bring his family with him, and Egyptian Agent at Constantinople asks that apartments may be found for him at the expense of the Porte.

There is no doubt that Sennaar has fallen.

No. 269.

Sir W. White to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received November 8, 8·20 P.M.)

(No. 187.)
(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, November* 8, 1885, 6·55 P.M.

APPOINTMENT of Moukhtar Pasha as Chief Commissioner for Egypt was confirmed to me by Grand Vizier. As he is one of the best men in this Empire, I thanked his Highness for his excellent selection, and it would produce a desirable effect were I authorized to transmit message expressing gratification from the Queen to the Sultan or from Her Majesty's Government.

No. 270.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir W. White.

(No. 188.)
(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, November* 9, 1885, 11 A.M.

PRAY express to Sultan gratification of Her Majesty's Government at the admirable appointment he has made, and at the promptitude with which it has been decided on.

No. 271.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir W. White.

(No. 418. Ext. 188.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, November* 9, 1885.

I HAVE received your telegraphic despatch No. 187 of yesterday's date, informing me that the Sultan has been pleased to appoint Ghazi Moukhtar Pasha as Her Majesty's High Commissioner for carrying out the Anglo-Turkish Convention with regard to Egypt.

I instructed you to-day, by telegraph, to convey to the Sultan the expression of the gratification felt both by the Queen and by Her Majesty's Government at the admirable selection made by His Majesty, and at the promptitude with which the appointment of the Turkish High Commissioner has been made.

I am, &c.
(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 272.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received November 9, 11·15 A.M.)

(No. 101.)
(Telegraphic.) *Cairo, November* 9, 1885, 10·45 A.M.

BAKER reports that there is a widespread alarm in Egypt relative to reported advance of the rebels and a revival of the panic of last year. He is taking steps for reinforcing the police of the upper provinces.

No. 273.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received November 9, 4·35 P.M.)

(No. 102.)
(Telegraphic.) *Cairo, November* 9, 1885, 3·35 P.M.

MR. EGERTON, at my request, spoke to-day to the Khedive respecting the newspaper paragraph suggesting Chérif Pasha as his Delegate. At the time His Highness answered evasively, but subsequently he sent Mr. Egerton a message showing that he evidently has Chérif Pasha in his mind. This appointment implies Nubar Pasha's resignation. I have not spoken myself to the Khedive on the subject, but shall now do so, in the manner enjoined by your Lordship's telegram

No. 49, and say the Delegate must be appointed on advice of his Ministers, and be *persona grata* to ourselves.

I do not want, in reply, any actual instruction to be communicated, only your authority to me.

No. 274.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received November 9, 4·35 P.M.)

(No. 103.)
(Telegraphic.) *Cairo, November* 9, 1885, 3·35 P.M.

THE nun from Khartoum arrived here to-day. The priest who was with her described the organization of the Soudanese as considerable. Before the departure of the nun 15,000 men left Khartoum, under Abder-el-Jam, with orders to go to Korosko and to attack Egypt, and they are more fanatical than ever.

No. 275.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir H. Drummond Wolff.

(No. 55.)
(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, November* 9, 1885, 5·15 P.M.

YOUR telegram No. 95 of the 5th instant.

General has telegraphed to War Office objections to proposed communications with the Soudanese, which he has no doubt discussed with you.

No. 276.

The Marqnis of Salisbury to Sir H. Drummond Wolff.

(No. 56. Ext. 55.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, November* 9, 1885.

WITH reference to your telegraphic despatch No. 95 of the 5th instant, suggesting that the Soudanese should be informed of the readiness of Her Majesty's Government to come to a peaceful arrangement with them, I transmit herewith, for convenience of reference, copy of a telegraphic despatch addressed by the General Officer commanding in Egypt to the Secretary of State for War, pointing out the objections which, in his opinion, render it undesirable to make the proposed communication to the Soudanese.

I have informed you, by telegraph, that General Stephenson had reported his objections, which he had doubtless previously discussed with you.

I am, &c.
(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 277.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir H. Drummond Wolff.

(No. 56.)
(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, November* 9, 1885, 6·45 P.M.

YOURS No. 92 of 5th instant.

Answer of Admiralty as to deepening entrance to Alexandria Harbour was sent 21st March, and preliminary survey has been carried out.

See Mr. Egerton's despatch No. 733 of the 12th October, which has been referred by Admiralty to Admiral.

No. 278.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received November 9, 8 P.M.)

(No. 104.)
(Telegraphic.) *Cairo, November* 9, 1885, 7·30 P.M.

THE "Progrès Égyptien" says that there is to be a change of Government here, and a Ministry to be named not so friendly to me.

Could your Lordship make some representation at Constantinople in favour of Nubar Pasha? There is clearly some intrigue on foot. Foreign Agents are telling Khedive that he need not mind Her Majesty's Government, which will be upset at the elections. In case Nubar Pasha is turned out, what course should I take?

No. 279.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received November 10.)

(No. 65.)
My Lord, *Cairo, October* 30, 1885.

ON Monday, the 26th instant, before leaving Constantinople, I had the honour of an audience of His Imperial Majesty the Sultan.

His Imperial Majesty expressed pleasure at the conclusion of the Convention, and repeated the assurances he had previously given of his desire to co-operate cordially with Her Majesty's Government for the restoration of a good order of things in Egypt and the pacification of the Soudan.

He said that there would be great difficulty, but His Imperial Majesty thought he saw his way to a solution of them if the two countries acted cordially together and in perfect confidence. He was much gratified at the goodwill shown by your Lordship in other matters.

I replied that your Lordship and Her Majesty's Government were anxious to contribute as much as was in their power to the prosperity of His Imperial Majesty's reign, and that this desire had already been shown in more than one manner. I told His Imperial Majesty that I had received very disquieting intelligence from the Soudan, which rendered more pressing than ever the necessity of immediate action. I therefore prayed His Imperial Majesty to lose no time in nominating his Commissioner and dispatching him to Egypt.

His Imperial Majesty promised to do so at once.

His Imperial Majesty was most cordial and kind in his reception, and informed me that he would send to my wife His Imperial Order of the Shefakat, which he had conferred on Lady Dufferin and Lady Layard.

I went straight from the Palace to Her Majesty's ship "Imogene," which took me to Besika Bay.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. DRUMMOND WOLFF.

No. 280.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received November 10.)

(No. 66.)
My Lord, *Cairo, October* 30, 1885.

YESTERDAY morning I arrived at Alexandria, the "Iris" having made a rapid passage of forty-six hours from Besika Bay.

At Alexandria I was met by Mr. Egerton, who had been good enough to come up on purpose from this place; by Mr. Cookson, by Nubar Pasha, by Tonino Pasha, who had been sent to meet me by the Khedive, and by many others; and both at Alexandria and Cairo everything was done both by the Egyptian and British authorities to give me a friendly reception.

Mr. Egerton, and the staff of the Agency, have done all in their power hitherto to further the objects of my mission, and, in case of necessity, I shall not hesitate

to avail myself of the assistance which I know will be promptly and willingly rendered.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. DRUMMOND WOLFF.

No. 281.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received November 10.)

(No. 67. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Cairo, November* 1, 1885.

ON my journey from Alexandria I showed to Nubar Pasha the Convention. With this document his Excellency expressed himself much pleased.

He said he considered it the title-deed of our occupation, and that it would enable us to settle all questions with Turkey alone, instead of with what is here called "internationalism."

Much, he considered, depends on the choice of the Turkish Commissioner, from whose influence he expects a great deal, and the absence of any distinct provision for recruitment in Turkey would not, in his Excellency's opinion, be detrimental.

I learn on all sides that amongst the Arabs there is a great dread of the name of Turk, and a special provision for the above-named purpose might by exaggeration cause alarm.

His Excellency is most anxious for the appointment of the Turkish Commissioner.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. DRUMMOND WOLFF.

No. 282.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received November 10.)

(No. 68.)
My Lord, *Cairo, November* 1, 1885.

ON Friday morning I had the honour of a private interview with His Highness the Khedive. At this I read to His Highness the Convention, going through it Article by Article, and explaining my view of the various provisions.

I pointed out to His Highness that in every Article his rights and prestige had been most carefully guarded, and I was convinced that a clear understanding with the Turkish Commissioner would also lead to beneficial results.

His Highness expressed his gratitude to Her Majesty's Government for what had been done for him, and also his great loyalty and devotion to the Sultan. I said I considered it would be well if he could some day repair to Constantinople, and form the personal acquaintance of His Imperial Majesty. To this His Highness replied that he proposed doing so on the first occasion, and that he also hoped to make a journey to England, as he had long been anxious to pay his respects to Her Majesty the Queen.

His Highness expressed himself also most anxious to conform in every way to the provisions of the Convention, in the hopes that it might lead to the happiness of his country.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. DRUMMOND WOLFF.

No. 283.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received November 10.)

(No. 69.)
My Lord, *Cairo, November* 1, 1885.

YESTERDAY I had the honour of an official audience of His Highness the Khedive, at which I delivered to His Highness the letter with which I was intrusted by your Lordship. In so doing I read to His Highness the address a copy of which is

inclosed, and to which His Highness made the reply of which I have also the honour to transmit a copy.

Subsequently, His Highness did me the honour of paying me a visit, at which the conversation was of a general character.

As I accompanied His Highness to his carriage he took the opportunity of expressing his warmest gratitude to Her Majesty's Government for their invariable support, and was good enough to include in his expression of thanks the language I had made use of in my communication with His Highness.

Inclosed is an official account of my reception.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. DRUMMOND WOLFF.

Inclosure 1 in No. 283.

Address of Sir H. Drummond Wolff to His Highness the Khedive.

Monseigneur!

I HAVE the honour to deliver to your Highness a letter from the Marquis of Salisbury, the Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of Her Majesty the Queen and Empress, my august Sovereign, and Her Majesty's Prime Minister.

In so doing, I am charged to express to your Highness the great satisfaction with which Her Majesty's Government have from time to time learnt of the earnestness and goodwill with which your Highness has lent your countenance and aid to further the exertions of Her Majesty's Representatives and officers in the execution of their duties within the territories confided to your Highness' care. Her Majesty's Government are convinced that nothing will occur to disturb the mutual confidence which has existed between your Highness and the public servants of Her Majesty.

Being earnestly desirous to recognize the sovereign rights of the Sultan, based as they are both on Treaties and Firmans, to secure the interests of Her Majesty's subjects and the subjects of all other foreign States in Egypt, to strengthen the influence of your Highness, and to promote the welfare of the people of Egypt, Her Majesty has with those objects recently concluded a Convention with His Imperial Majesty the Sultan.

Of this Convention I shall have the honour to deliver a copy to your Highness, and to express a hope that your Highness may sympathize in the elevated views which have dictated the Convention, and will assist in carrying its provisions into effect.

By so doing, Her Majesty's Government believe that your Highness will secure the safety of your frontier and the internal order and good government of your country.

In the discharge of the duties allotted to me by the Queen and Empress and by Her Majesty's Government, your Highness will always find me anxious to advance, to the best of my ability, the interests of your Government and your people, and I trust that I may be fortunate enough to receive from your Highness and your Ministers those facilities and good offices which may enable me to carry out the objects of my mission.

Inclosure 2 in No. 283.

Speech of His Highness the Khedive in Reply to Sir H. Drummond Wolff.

JE suis heureux de vous souhaiter la bienvenue en Égypte, et bien heureux aussi des sentiments que vous m'exprimez. Toutes les mesures concertées entre le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté la Reine et le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Impériale mon auguste Souverain tendant à affermir la sécurité et à développer le bien-être de l'Egypte, auront mon concours le plus empressé.

No. 284.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received November 10.)

(No. 70.)

My Lord, *Cairo, November* 2, 1885.

YESTERDAY the Governor of Cairo called on me. He is, I am told, a very bigoted Mussulman, and an admirer of the courbash, and has occupied for a long time the post of Prefect of Police, recently converted into the Governor of Cairo.

I asked him as to the probability of the success of any negotiations carried on by Representatives of the Sultan and the Khedive. He replied, through his interpreter, that this would be the only possible means of arriving at a peaceful settlement. A mistake had been made, he said, in never having endeavoured to negotiate through an Egyptian, but constantly through Christians.

I am receiving very conflicting opinions on this subject, on which, in the course of a day or two, I shall have the honour to write to your Lordship.

I am happy to say that the Governor of Cairo confirmed the truth of opinions given me in many quarters of the admirable conduct of Her Majesty's troops in Cairo.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. DRUMMOND WOLFF.

No. 285.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received November 10.)

E

(No. 71. Confidential.)

My Lord, *Cairo, November* 2, 1885.

I HAVE found at Cairo, as I have generally found it elsewhere, that the beginning of my work is the signal for depreciation on the part of foreign Agents.

At the present moment the bulk of them at Cairo are *gérants*, and very young men, and on my arrival they repaired to the Doyen, the Italian Agent, to concert whether they were to call first on me or I on them.

M. de Martino answered that he should himself pay me the first visit; but as I had always intended to call first on them, as soon as my official reception was over, Mr. Egerton on the afternoon of Saturday took me round and presented me to them. Yesterday they returned my visit, and I took the opportunity to show to the German Acting Agent the Convention, saying that it had received the support of the German Government and the German Ambassador at Constantinople, and expressing a hope that he would also give me his support in carrying it out.

M. Derenthall, the Agent of Germany, is about to return in a day or two. I am told he was greatly irritated on account of the proceedings of the Conference in London being carried on in English, with which he was not acquainted, whereby a considerable advantage over him was given to those Delegates who were conversant with the language.

M. Barrère has been absent and unwell, but returns, I believe, to-day. I shall endeavour, as far as I can, to establish good relations with him. Count Corti, who passed some time with him at Carlsbad, assures me that his language regarding England was very conciliatory.

The very trivial movement alluded to above originated, I am told, with the French and Russian Acting Agents.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. DRUMMOND WOLFF.

No. 286.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received November 10.)

(No. 72. Confidential.)

My Lord, *Cairo, November* 3, 1885.

YESTERDAY M. de Martino, the Italian Agent, called on me and offered me his assistance generally under instructions from his Government. He has been here

many years, and had previously occupied a similar post in Morocco. His anticipations are not encouraging, and he complained of the manner in which smaller employés had been dismissed, the measures, he said, having fallen with exceptional hardship on his own fellow-countrymen.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. DRUMMOND WOLFF.

No. 287.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received November 10.)

(No. 73. Secret and Confidential.)

My Lord, *Cairo, November* 3, 1885.

AT the end of a conversation on various matters M. de Martino, the Italian Agent, said to me he was specially charged by the Italian Government to speak to me in an amicable and confidential manner on the subject of Massowah.

I replied that at Constantinople I had informed both Count Corti and the Sublime Porte that I was without instructions on the subject, and that the Italian Government had expressed itself satisfied with this statement.

M. de Martino, however, persisted in his communication, and asked me to obtain instructions from your Lordship to deal with it.

He said that Count Robilant had made up his mind not to allow the present unsatisfactory condition of things to last, and that if the Egyptian Government did not deal with it, he would do so himself. No Italian Government would ever venture to withdraw, and this being the case the position must be regularized.

The Italian Government was quite willing to act harmoniously with the Khedive, and the following appeared to be the best arrangement. The present Egyptian Governor of Massowah should receive leave of absence on account of his health, private affairs, or some other pretext; the Ottoman flag should be kept flying, and the Italian authorities should meanwhile reorganize the local administration.

In fact, the programme was that laid down in M. de Martino's Memorandum to his Excellency Nubar Pasha, a copy of which was inclosed in Mr. Egerton's despatch No. 721 of the 7th ultimo. M. de Martino stated to me that the Italian Government had postponed all action till my arrival, when he was instructed, as before stated, to come to a friendly and confidential understanding with me.

The Foreign Office has been kept so fully informed by Mr. Egerton of the considerations involved in this question, that I need do little more than refer to his despatches as marked in the margin.*

I at once communicated with Nubar Pasha, Mr. Egerton, and Colonel Chermside, who is fortunately here at present.

It appears to me that the proposal of the Italian Government is scarcely fair on the Khedive and his Government. It practically calls on the latter to deal with a question beyond its competence, and the result of their doing so would be seriously to compromise them with the Sultan.

The Porte, as your Lordship has been informed by Mr. Egerton in his despatch No. 711 of the 3rd October, has telegraphed the Egyptian Government to maintain its Administration, and is of opinion that an understanding should be come to between the Italian and Ottoman Governments.

It would be far better that the Egyptian Government should be obliged to cede to force rather than take the odium of relinquishing voluntarily any of the rights of the Sultan, and there is no reason apparent which would justify the Khedive in undertaking this responsibility.

Before M. de Martino left me I promised to telegraph to your Lordship for instructions. In so doing I ventured to suggest to your Lordship that a communication should be sent to Rome requesting that the Italian Government should defer any further consideration of this question till the arrival here of the Turkish Commissioner.

It already comes into the category of those in which the opinion of that functionary would be essential, and any precipitation on the part of the Italian Government would scarcely be friendly at a moment when we are endeavouring to arrive at decisions on wide and grave questions, and when the machinery for doing so is not yet completed.

* See "Correspondence respecting the Red Sea and Somali Coast," July to December, 1885: Nos. 46, 53, and .

Perhaps it might be as well that the Ottoman Commissioner should receive some instructions on the point at issue, but I do not venture to make any suggestion in this direction, as the expediency of any communication on the part of Her Majesty's Government to the Porte can be rightly appreciated only by your Lordship and Her Majesty's Representative at Constantinople.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. DRUMMOND WOLFF.

No. 288.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received November 10, 2·30 P.M.)

(No. 105.)
(Telegraphic.) *Cairo, November* 10, 1885.

I HAVE the Khedive's promise not to appoint Chérif Pasha. He asks me to call at 3.

Details by bag.

No. 289.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received November 10, 2·10 P.M.)

(No. 106.)
(Telegraphic.) *Cairo, November* 10, 1885.

MONEY is absolutely required to send Egyptian troops to the frontier. At the request of General Stephenson, I have arranged with Mr. Vincent to make an advance out of the Soudanese millions. It will be about 40,000*l*. Mr. Vincent said he will later claim this from Her Majesty's Government, but I would not discuss the point. As the matter is burning, the money was required at once.

Do you approve?

No. 290.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir H. Drummond Wolff.

(No. 57.)
(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, November* 10, 1885, 4·15 P.M.

CABINET are of opinion that anything like an announcement of willingness to treat concerning the Soudan made public would now be a sign of weakness; but that if you can find an Arab intermediary whom you can thoroughly trust, such a message conveyed to the insurgent leaders might have a good effect, but you must be very careful to give no impression of a reluctance to fight, and your negotiations in the first instance, at least, should only apply to the country south of Berber.

No. 291.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir H. Drummond Wolff.

(No. 55. Ext. 57.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, November* 10, 1885.

I INFORMED you to-day, by telegraph, that, in the opinion of the Cabinet, anything approaching to a public announcement of the willingness of Her Majesty's Government to enter into negotiations with the Soudanese for the pacification of that country would be interpreted at the present juncture as a sign of weakness, but that if you are able to find an Arab intermediary whom you can thoroughly trust, a message to the above effect conveyed by him to the insurgent Sheikhs might very possibly lead to a good result.

At the same time, I warned you to be very careful not to convey to the Soudanese leaders any impression of anxiety to avoid a conflict by concessions; and I instructed you to confine your negotiations, for the present at any rate, to the country south of Berber.

I am, &c.
(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 291*.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir H. Drummond Wolff.

(No. 58.)
(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, November* 10, 1885, 6·15 P.M.

IF you have a suitable opportunity of doing so without frightening him, intimate to the Khedive that Nubar Pasha was appointed in consequence of the action of the late Government, and has heartily been supported by us. It may therefore be looked upon as certain that he has the support of Her Majesty's Government, whichever party is in office. Any idea of displacing him without previous full communication with yourself or your successor might produce very serious consequences indeed.

No. 292.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received November 10, 4·20 P.M.

(No. 107.)
(Telegraphic.) *Cairo, November* 10, 1885, 2·40 P.M.

FOLLOWING sent to Sir W. White:—

"An order has been given to stop export of horses from Turkey. Could not there be some relaxation of this order, at any rate for horses alike provided by contract at Beyrout for English and Egyptian Governments?"

No. 293.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received November 11, 8 A.M.)

(No. 108.)
(Telegraphic.) *Cairo, November* 11, 1885, 1·10 A.M.

YOUR No. 57.

I should not like to take any responsibility in the matter apart from military authorities, as I might derange their plans without effecting any good, and I could not place so delicate a negotiation in the hands of an Arab agent at that distance.

But I would suggest that the military authorities, after conferring with me, should instruct General Grenfell to consider whether he could safely communicate with the insurgent Chiefs on the matter, leaving the mode and time of doing so to his discretion.

Some Arab merchants here say that communications are feasible, and I hear this from other quarters.

General Grenfell reports that arrival of our reinforcements has had effect on the enemy, and from another source, not very good, I learn that the Chiefs may be dealt with.

I should be glad if some attempt were made in this direction, as it would prove our good faith towards the Sultan in respect of the Convention.

I wish for a distinct record of a desire on our part to arrive at a peaceable settlement, and to avoid, if possible, further effusion of blood.

No. 294.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received November 11, 1·30 P.M.)

(No. 109.)
(Telegraphic.) *Cairo, November* 11, 1885.

MY telegram No. 108.

With your Lordship's sanction, General Stephenson will send General Grenfell the following telegram:—

"Her Majesty's Government disposed to negotiate with Soudanese south of Berber, provided this can be done without showing too much anxiety on our part for peace or slightest reluctance to fight.

"Such negotiation is delicate business, and must be conducted with great judgment. Should you at any time see good opportunity, and think it advantageous to communicate in this sense with Soudanese south of Berber, you are authorized to do so, using your discretion as to means and time.

"Turkish Commissioner expected very soon, and shortly after arrival will go to frontier."

No. 295.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received November 11, 2 P.M.)

(No. 110.)
(Telegraphic.) *Cairo, November 11, 1885, 1·40 P.M.*

MY telegram No. 109.

Colonel Messedaglia, an Italian officer in the Egyptian service, who was with General Gordon, tells me he can obtain access to insurgent Chiefs, and that the latter would be willing to treat. I have talked of him with General Stephenson, who is inquiring about him. My information respecting him is good. If the General is satisfied, I will either send him up to General Grenfell or take him with me.

No. 296.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received November 11, 2·15 P.M.)

(No. 111.)
(Telegraphic.) *Cairo, November 11, 1885, 1·40 P.M.*

I THINK great honours should be paid Moukhtar Pasha on his arrival. He is a Ghazi and Marshal, besides being High Commissioner. I propose to meet him at Alexandria. Would Her Majesty's Government telegraph orders to the naval and military authorities on the subject?

The French are trying to make out that Moukhtar's arrival is with a view to force us to leave, and will demonstrate accordingly.

No. 297.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received November 12, 3:30 P.M.)

(No. 112.)
(Telegraphic.) *Cairo, November 12, 1885.*

IN consequence of news from Wortley, who is with General Grenfell, I propose to send Colonel Messedaglia to Assouan.

I do this with General Stephenson's full approval, who has received very good accounts of the Colonel.

No. 298.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir H. Drummond Wolff.

(No. 59.)
(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, November 12, 1885, 8·5 P.M.*

YOUR No. 109.

We are anxious to leave complete discretion to Generals Stephenson and Grenfell as to nature and manner of communication with Soudanese, but, provided they approve, we have no objection to the intimation you suggest.

No. 299.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir H. Drummond Wolff.

(No. 58. Ext. 59.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, November 12, 1885.*

I HAVE received your telegraphic despatch No. 109 of yesterday's date, embodying the instruction which the General Officer commanding in Egypt proposes to send to General Grenfell with regard to communications to be addressed to the insurgent Soudanese south of Berber.

I informed you, in reply, to-day, by telegraph, that Her Majesty's Government wish to leave the largest discretion to Generals Stephenson and Grenfell, both as regards the nature and the manner of the communications to be addressed to the

No. 301*.

Sir R. Thompson to Sir J. Pauncefote.—(Received November 14.)

(Confidential.)

Sir,

War Office, November 14, 1885.

I AM directed by the Secretary of State for war to transmit to you, for the information of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, the inclosed copy of a telegram with regard to affairs in Egypt.

I am, &c.
(Signed) RALPH THOMPSON.

Inclosure in No. 301*.

Lieutenant-General Sir F. Stephenson to Mr. Secretary Smith.

(Telegraphic.)

Cairo, November 14, 1885, 11·55 A.M.

FOLLOWING telegram drawn up by Wolff and self sent to Grenfell:—

"Government disposed to negotiate, if possible, with Soudanese south of Berber, provided this can be done without showing too much anxiety on our part for peace, or the slightest reluctance to fight.

"Such negotiation is a delicate business, and must be conducted with great judgment. Should you at any time see good opportunity, and think it advantageous to communicate in this sense with Soudanese south of Berber, you are authorized to do so, using your discretion as to means and time. Turkish Commissioner expected very soon, and shortly after arrival will go to front."

Soudanese Sheikhs, but that they have no objection to the intimation you suggest if it has the approval of those officers.

I am, &c.
(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 300.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received November 13, 3·15 P.M.)

(No. 113.)
(Telegraphic.)

Cairo, November 13, 1885, 1·35 P.M.

WITH reference to my telegram No. 109, General Grenfell telegraphs to General Stephenson as follows:—

"I think it very advisable to open negotiations as soon as possible with the different rebel leaders, but I submit that the character of each and the circumstances connected with them should govern the mode of wording communication. We are preparing a list of the rebel leaders, and I will submit what I consider should be the form of each individual communication. To begin with, I would recommend that Sheikh Morghani should be sent up immediately, and that steps should be taken to insure against Hussein Khalifa doing mischief. In the presence of the Mudir of Esneh I interviewed the Ababdeh Sheikhs, and I named the districts they were each responsible for, both as regards intelligence and prevention of contraband trade, and warned them that the time was past that they could be with us one day and against us the next. I hope same warning may be conveyed to Khalifa. The punishment of Ibrahim Salwahi will do a great deal of good."

No. 301.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received November 13, 8 P.M.)

(No. 114.)
(Telegraphic.)

Cairo, November 13, 1885, 7·15 P.M.

YOUR despatch No. 52 received to-day.

I hope your Lordship will not insist on Chérif Pasha and Riaz Pasha taking any part at present in public affairs. They are not compatible with each other, and at present moment their appointment would be fatal to Nubar Pasha.

No. 302.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received November 14, 2 P.M.)

(No. 115.)
(Telegraphic.)

Cairo, November 14, 1885.

YOUR despatch No. 49: Zebehr Pasha.

I have seen Nubar Pasha and General Stephenson. The former is in favour of his return; the latter is against it. They both agree with me in thinking we had better postpone question till arrival of Turkish Commissioner.

No. 303.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir H. Drummond Wolff.

(No. 60.)
(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, November 14, 1885, 3·20 P.M.

YOUR telegram No. 111 of 11th instant.

Admiralty will give instructions for salute at Alexandria to Moukhtar Pasha of nineteen guns, as given to an Ambassador.

War Office have instructed General to consult you as to honours.

PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE, LONDON

No. 304.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received November 14, 11·30 P.M.)

(No. 116.)
(Telegraphic.) *Cairo, November* 14, 1885, 9·35 P.M.

TELEGRAM from Wortley: "I hear from reliable sources that natives have already heard of the Convention, and accept with satisfaction the fact of England and Turkey being in accord."

No. 305.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received November 15, 8 P.M.)

(No. 117.)
(Telegraphic.) *Cairo, November* 15, 1885, 7·40 P.M.

RATIB PASHA, a familiar of ex-Khedive, is just come from Naples, and has begun an intrigue at the Palace against Nubar Pasha.

Great reliance is placed on the idea that Moukhtar Pasha will join it. It would be most desirable that the influence of the Sultan should be employed to support Nubar Pasha. Would it be possible to ask for this? The fall of Nubar Pasha at this moment would be most disastrous.

(Sent to Constantinople.)

No. 306.

Sir W. White to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received November 15, 9 P.M.)

(No. 201.)
(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, November* 15, 1885, 5·38 P.M.

FOLLOWING sent to Sir H. D. Wolff:—

"In dining with His Imperial Majesty the Sultan last night I avoided alluding to [? Egypt] or Moukhtar Pasha's mission, having been warned not to do so. His Imperial Majesty, however, said he intended writing shortly to Sir H. Wolff through some person he was sending there.

"Nothing known yet what day Special Commissioner sails. I intended asking his Excellency to dinner, but have been advised not to do so. Sultan so absorbed by Conference that no other subject has just now any interest for His Imperial Majesty. That is why I have [not] as yet been able to effect anything both as regards permission for importing horses into Egypt or for Nubar Pasha's decoration.

"The Special Commissioner has suggested my leaving those two matters for him to deal with when he reaches Egypt. I am, however, watching my opportunities on both questions, and have mentioned them to some Ministers and also at the Palace."

No. 307.

Sir W. White to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received November 16.)

(No. 491. Secret.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, November* 9, 1885.

I HAVE the honour to inclose copy and précis of a Mazbata addressed to His Majesty the Sultan by the Sublime Porte, which purports to be the instructions furnished to the Ottoman Commissioners who are to proceed to Egypt in virtue of the Convention concluded here on the 24th ultimo by Sir H. D. Wolff for the purpose of regulating the affairs of that country.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. A. WHITE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 307.

Mazbata (Procès-verbal) addressed to His Majesty the Sultan by the Sublime Porte, dated October 15 (27), 1885.

(Secret.)
(Traduction.)

LA mission de Sir D. Wolff ayant pour objet le réglement de la question Égyptienne a rencontré le gracieux accueil de votre Majesté. Là-dessus les négociations ordonnées ayant eu un bon résultat, le Conseil des Ministres s'est réuni aujourd'hui en vertu de l'ordre de votre Majesté pour élire les Plénipotentiaires qui doivent être envoyés en Égypte, avec le Commissaire susmentionné, et pour considérer les instructions avec lesquelles il y a lieu de munir les Plénipotentiaires en question. Là-dessus le Conseil, délibérant sous la présidence de son Altesse le Grand Vizir, a décidé que les personnes à élire devraient être douées de l'aptitude nécessaire pour délivrer l'Égypte des difficultés où elle se trouve, pour sauvegarder la prospérité de cette province en écartant en même temps tout ce qui peut affecter les droits sacrés de votre Majesté, pour laisser dans le *statu quo* tous les droits et privilèges des Puissances amies, pour examiner, avec le Représentant de votre Majesté, Son Altesse Tewfik Pacha, tout ce qu'il y a à faire, en rapportant à la Sublime Porte toute question pour laquelle la sanction de celle-ci est nécessaire, pour observer religieusement les instructions qu'ils reçoivent, et pour ne pas être trompés d'aucune manière en ce qui concerne la sauvegarde des intérêts de l'État. En somme, les personnes nommées devraient inspirer pleine confiance, et devraient être versées dans la science politique. Par conséquent, le Conseil des Ministres a pensé, tout en se réservant de considérer ensuite les instructions à donner à la mission militaire qui sera nommée plus tard, de désigner comme Commissaire Plénipotentiaire, chargé de la mission en question, son Altesse Saïd Pacha, et comme aide, son Excellence Djevdet Pacha, auxquels il se propose de donner les instructions suivantes:—

Article 1er. Les Commissaires du Gouvernement Impérial ont la faculté d'examiner et de considérer toute question civile, judiciaire, et administrative, et de confirmer et signer, sans s'en rapporter à la Sublime Porte, toute abrogation, changement, ou réforme concernant ces matières après s'être consultés avec Son Altesse le Khédive.

Art. 2. Les Commissaires pourront considérer avec le Commissaire de l'Angleterre toute question touchant la tranquillité et le bon ordre de l'Égypte, et ils pourront instituer des règlements et des lois qu'ils croient être à propos à cet effet, à condition d'obtenir au préalable l'assentiment de Son Altesse le Khédive.

Art. 3. Les Commissaires tâcheront d'approfondir toute question concernant les mesures à exécuter par rapport aux affaires intérieures de l'Égypte, et lorsqu'ils trouvent parmi les lois, règlements, et mesures nouvelles qui affectent le bien-être du pays, [*sic*] ils devront immédiatement en faire leur rapport au Khédive. Les matières qui seront examinées et confirmées de concert avec le Khédive devront être toujours dans les limites de la permission accordée dans le dernier Firman concernant l'Égypte. Si, au contraire, parmi les mesures à adopter il y en aurait qui sortent de ces limites, la sanction de la Porte devra être demandée au préalable.

Art. 4. Attendu que l'intervention de l'Angleterre en Égypte n'avait pour but que la sauvegarde de la tranquillité et la prospérité de la province privilégiée de Sa Majesté Impériale, les Commissaires auront à requérir l'assistance du Khédive pour déterminer, avec le Commissaire Anglais, l'époque de l'évacuation de l'Égypte par les troupes Anglaises.

Art. 5. Dans le cas qu'il serait considéré nécessaire de modifier les lois et privilèges des Puissances Étrangères en Égypte, les Commissaires, tout en laissant la responsabilité d'une telle modification au Khédive et à l'Angleterre, demanderont à cet égard la permission de la Porte, et dans le cas où ils l'obtiendront, ils signifieront leur assentiment. Il est bien entendu que les modifications en question devront porter uniquement sur les privilèges accordés par les Firmans. Quant à ceux qui n'ont pas été garantis par les Traités, et qui furent obtenus à la suite d'une pression, toutes les fois qu'on en constaterait l'inopportunité, les Commissaires, avec l'assentiment du Commissaire Anglais et celui du Khédive, pourront les adopter, soit de leur propre chef, en en prenant la responsabilité, quand ils le croiront à propos, soit en les rapportant à la Sublime Porte.

Art. 6. Les Commissaires, de même qu'ils interviendront dans la question de l'allocation militaire, considéreront également celle de mettre l'armée Égyptienne sur un nouveau pied qui puisse garantir la tranquillité et le repos du pays. A cet effet, ils échangeront des idées avec le Commissaire Anglais de la manière que le Khédive

PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE, LONDON

croira à-propos, et dans le Mazbata qui sera rédigé à cet effet, l'assentiment de la mission militaire sera également inséré.

Art. 7. Dans la question de la réorganisation de l'armée, de la marine, et de la police Égyptiennes, les Commissaires, après avoir pris en considération les intérêts du Gouvernement Impérial, procéderont à cette réorganisation en conformité avec la décision qui serait prise à la suite d'un accord entre les deux Gouvernements.

Art. 8. Les Commissaires ont le devoir de se rendre compte des demandes des insurgés et des moyens de les satisfaire et de les amener à l'obéissance, ainsi que de comprendre quelles sont les vues du Khédive à cet égard, et ils rapporteront à la Sublime Porte tous les renseignements obtenus et les mesures à prendre, mais ils ne pourront ni entrer en communication, ni intervenir avant de recevoir des ordres définitifs.

Art. 9. Les Commissaires, après s'être rendu compte des vues des rebelles par des moyens indirects, en feront le rapport à la Sublime Porte, et bien qu'ils ne puissent pas s'associer aux mesures qui pourraient être arrêtées entre les Plénipotentiaires de l'Égypte et de l'Angleterre, si cependant une décision est prise de commun accord par eux et que les Commissaires croient à-propos de la confirmer, ils s'abstiendront cependant de s'y associer avant de demander la permission de la Sublime Porte.

Art. 10. Les Commissaires ne négligeront d'aucune manière de considérer toute mesure contribuant à l'apaisement de la révolte et à la consolidation de l'autorité Khédiviale, et dans le cas où quelque moyen serait trouvé pour atteindre ce but sans effusion de sang, ils doivent s'empresser d'en informer la Sublime Porte, et d'agir en conformité des instructions qu'ils en recevront pour servir d'intermédiaire à cet effet.

Art. 11. Les Commissaires sont chargés de faire comprendre à la population Égyptienne que le Khédive est le Représentant de Sa Majesté Impériale, qu'ils doivent lui obéir en tout ce qu'il fait avec la sanction du Gouvernement Impérial, qu'ils doivent s'abstenir de toute démonstration contre un Gouvernement étranger quelconque durant la résidence des Commissaires Impériaux en Égypte, et qu'ils doivent attendre avec patience et circonspection les mesures de réforme qui vont être arrêtées entre la Sublime Porte et le Gouvernement Anglais.

Art. 12. Les Commissaires, pendant le temps de leur résidence en Égypte, doivent se comporter avec douceur envers Son Altesse le Khédive et tâcheront d'assurer l'attachement de Son Altesse à la personne de Sa Majesté Impériale. Ils auront particulièrement soin d'employer son influence dans la négociation qui aura lieu avec Sir D. Wolff pour la désignation et la limitation de l'époque de l'évacuation de l'Égypte par les troupes Anglaises. En somme, ils feront leur possible pour assurer l'avenir et le bien-être de l'Égypte et, ayant plein pouvoir d'obtenir l'extension ainsi que l'explication de leurs instructions de procéder à la réorganisation militaire de l'Égypte, d'instituer de nouveaux Règlements, de résoudre toute question politique qui se présenterait, et enfin de délibérer, avec le Commissaire Anglais, sur toutes les questions, de même qu'ils sont libres de communiquer avec la Sublime Porte toutes les fois qu'ils le croiront à-propos, ils conformeront leur action aux instructions ci-dessus mentionnées. Ces instructions ont été arrêtées en Conseil des Ministres; cependant il dépend de votre Majesté Impériale de les modifier ou de les étendre, d'approuver le choix qui a été fait ou bien d'en choisir d'autres, ainsi que de confirmer ce qui a été arrêté.

Inclosure 2 in No. 307.

Precis of Mazbata purporting to be Instructions given to the Turkish Commissioners.

ARTICLE 1. To examine judicial and administrative questions, with right to accept any repeal, change, or reform without reference to Porte, but in consultation with Khedive.

Art. 2. To come to an agreement with Khedive in promulgating any laws or regulations to insure the peace and quiet of Egypt.

Art. 3. To alter any laws to further the well-being of the country within the limits of the last Firman. Any matter outside of this to be referred to the Sublime Porte.

Art. 4. To fix with the Khedive and the British Commissioner a date for the evacuation of Egypt by British troops.

Art. 5. Touching laws and privileges affecting foreign Powers in Egypt. Any

change will be left to the considering of the Khedive and of England, but to be referred to the Sublime Porte in those established by Firman; in those not sanctioned by Firman changes can be accepted by the Commissioners with consent of British and Egyptian Commissioners.

Art. 6. To exchange ideas on Egyptian army reforms and distribution of troops. Assent of military mission will be embodied in Mazbata.

Art. 7. Reorganization of army, navy, and police to be carried out after an arrangement has been arrived at between the two Governments.

Art. 8. To consider demands of rebels and means for satisfying them as well as views of Khedive, but all such to be referred to the Porte before discussing them.

Art. 9. In the event of their agreeing with British and Egyptian Commissioner on above, no steps are to be taken without reference to the Sublime Porte.

Art. 10. To report any means that might be taken to consolidate the authority of the Khedive and put down the revolt without bloodshed.

Art. 11. To try and improve the position of the Khedive in the eyes of the people, and to use their influence to prevent demonstrations against any foreign Power.

Art. 12. General instructions as to conduct of Commissioners who are specially to endeavour to secure support of Khedive in fixing date of evacuation of country by British troops.

No. 308.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir H. Drummond Wolff.

(No. 61.)
(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, November* 16, 1885, 3·30 P.M.

YOUR telegram No. 117 of yesterday.

Sultan's attitude to us is doubtful just now. I doubt wisdom of putting into his head a mode of putting pressure upon us. As long as we occupy Egypt they cannot overthrow Nubar without our consent.

No. 309.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir H. Drummond Wolff.

(No. 62.)
(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, November* 16, 1885, 4·10 P.M.

THE question of farming the Domains is a very serious one financially, and Bouteron's objections are very vexatious.

It can only be settled with the help of people who are impartial, and who know the country.

As you object to Riaz and Chérif, have you any objection to our sending out Sir S. Baker to assist in the inquiry?

Alfred Rothschild wishes it very much.

No. 310.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received November 17.)

(No. 74. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Cairo, November* 4, 1885.

I AM sorry to inform your Lordship that a considerable amount of intrigue is going on amongst the different Pashas and hangers-on at the Palace. This is rather promoted than discouraged by the Khedive, and it is principally directed against Nubar Pasha.

The chief instigator of this movement is Khairy Pasha, the Chef du Cabinet of the Khedive. He is a creature of the late Khedive Ismaïl, and is persuading the present Khedive to follow the tactics of his father. The prize offered to His Highness is that, with the assistance of the Turkish Commissioner, the so-called Turkish party will get rid of the English occupation, supposed to be represented by Nubar Pasha, and that the Khedive will then regain the independence and freedom of action enjoyed by his father. The probability is that, if such a return to the past could occur, it would be utilized to the advantage of the ex-Khedive Ismaïl.

PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE, LONDON

With the above object in view, the precise tactics followed by the late Khedive are being adopted. Your Lordship may remember that when the late Sir Stephen Cave came here Nubar Pasha was Minister. Events unfortunately prevented the success of Sir Stephen Cave's mission. Nubar Pasha, in consequence, fell, and Chérif Pasha was appointed in his place. Again, when Sir Rivers Wilson was Minister of Finance, Nubar Pasha was likewise in power. The events of 1878 took place; Nubar was again deposed, and Chérif succeeded him. The same line is again being pursued, and Chérif Pasha is again brought to the front as the successor of Nubar.

The first symptom of the movement was a paragraph in the "Egyptian Gazette" to the effect that Chérif Pasha was to be appointed the Egyptian Delegate or Commissioner. On Monday, the 2nd instant, Nubar Pasha called my attention to this paragraph, and since then, on very good evidence not derived from him, I find that the manuscript of this paragraph emanated from Abdine.

The functionary on whom Nubar Pasha relies for work in the Soudan is Abd-el-Kader, the Minister of the Interior. In his present office he is somewhat of a nullity, but in the Soudan he has considerable prestige, having served there with success as Governor-General, and in command of troops during military operations. I shall on a future occasion lay before your Lordship some details respecting this gentleman.

The candidature of Chérif Pasha in opposition to Abd-el Kader, who is the choice of Nubar Pasha, is intended to provoke the resignation of the latter, and the substitution of Chérif Pasha.

Such an event I should, for various reasons, at the present moment consider to be a great misfortune.

I yesterday, therefore, called on the Khedive, and after having spoken with him on the affair of Massowah, I turned the conversation to the Convention. I explained to him that the object in view with regard to the Soudan was the pacification of that region without further effusion of blood. For this reason we had agreed to the conduct of the negotiations by Mussulmans, the Ottoman High Commissioner, and the Delegate of His Highness, but in concert with the English Commissioner, who would have the support of the British troops. Without alluding to Chérif Pasha, I suggested that the Egyptian negotiator must have the full confidence of Her Majesty's Government, and that Abd-el-Kader Pasha was a man who, from all accounts, exercised great prestige in the Soudan, and was in possession of all the necessary information and of personal knowledge of the tribes. His Highness evaded making any remark about Abd-el-Kader, but expressed some desire for the reoccupation of Dongola, which he considered necessary for the security of the frontiers.

In narrating our conversation to Nubar Pasha, His Highness seems to have added some further remarks, which I do not recollect as having come from him.

I do not intend taking any further steps till I hear of the actual appointment of the Turkish Commissioner; but with your Lordship's sanction, for which I have telegraphed, I propose to inform His Highness that Her Majesty's Government expect that no appointment will be made except with their concurrence.

The choice of Chérif Pasha to the post of negotiator would be radically bad. Not only is he quite unfitted for the duties, but he would represent interests diametrically opposed to those of Her Majesty's Government, and his nomination would, as I have before stated, entail the resignation of Nubar Pasha.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. DRUMMOND WOLFF.

No. 311.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received November 17.)

(No. 75.)

My Lord, *Cairo, November 5, 1885.*

I HAVE the honour to inclose a summary of an article which has appeared in the Arabic newspaper "El Zamân" relative to the policy of Her Majesty's Government and the Convention recently signed at Constantinople.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. DRUMMOND WOLFF.

Inclosure in No. 311.

Summary of an Article in "El Zamân" of November 3, 1885.

(Translation.)

THE late Gladstone Ministry was a fierce enemy of the Moslems, and worked diligently to injure them. But God is with the upright, and against the evil-doer. So Gladstone fell. But the Salisbury Ministry took another course. This appears from the Agreement come to between it and the Sublime Porte.

Sir H. D. Wolff, who has come to Egypt as High Commissioner on the part of Her Majesty the Queen of England, says openly: "We have no purpose of taking Egypt, for it is a province obedient to His Majesty the Commander of the Faithful; but as we have entered this land, we are of necessity bound, before going out of it, to establish a perfect reform. Then, when we see the country in a good state, we will deliver affairs to the legal (rightful) Ruler, His Highness the Khedive, and will gladly leave the country."

Moreover, we know there is a secret Agreement between His Majesty our Sovereign, the Commander of the Faithful, and Her Majesty the Queen of England. Among the stipulations of this Agreement there is this: that Her Majesty the Queen covenants to protect the Ottoman Government and strengthen its loins in any event that may occur.

No. 312.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received November 17.)

(No. 76. Confidential.)

My Lord, *Cairo, November 7, 1885.*

I REQUESTED Colonel Hallam Parr to obtain from General Grenfell, at Assouan, an expression of his views as to the influence which the co-operation of the Sultan would exercise in our negotiations with the Soudanese.

A copy of General Grenfell's letter is inclosed, and I venture to commend it to your Lordship's attention as containing a careful and well-considered opinion on the part of an officer of great capacity and experience.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. DRUMMOND WOLFF.

Inclosure in No. 312.

General Grenfell to Sir H. Drummond Wolff.

Assouan, November 1, 1885.

Dear Sir,

I HAVE already telegraphed to Colonel Parr my opinion as to the influence which the knowledge that the Sultan was with us would have on the minds of the Soudanese leaders.

I fear that over the leaders of the rebels, who are thoroughly identified with the religious element in the movement, the Sultan's power as spiritual Kalipha would be *nil*.

The movement is a rebellion of the common people against years of oppression by Turkish Pashas and Turkish Bashi-Bazouks, the means used by the Mahdi to excite and incite the people being a sort of religious revival, abstinence, prayer, and a belief in the spiritual mission of the Mahdi, the accepted tenets.

Some of his followers are so strong in their faith that they willingly die for it (witness their gallant conduct against British squares).

To these and their leaders the Sultan is as the Pope was to Luther.

Others follow the army for the love of slaying and plundering they have acquired in the last three years with the Mahdi.

A third party, originally unwilling soldiers, have been forced by circumstances into the rebellion.

On the two latter parties I think the influence of the Sultan would be great.

On the inhabitants of Lower Egypt—who are, as a rule, against us—a general expression of the Sultan's sympathy would have effect.

PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE, LONDON

It would be useful also for any waverers in the Soudan, or as a platform for any leader who felt himself strong enough to form an anti-Mahdi party.

I fear the quarrel now is too much defined as "English against Soudanese," and no doubt that this feeling is fostered by French agents and Egyptian officials in Cairo. To destroy this, the knowledge of the Sultan's sympathy with us would be very useful.

It would be supposed that the death of the Mahdi would have struck a blow to the religious element, but the nuns who have arrived from Khartoum state that the Mahdi dead is more venerated than when he was alive, and that his Kalipha is universally accepted, so that on the Dervish section, whose programme is to slay all disbelievers in the Mahdi, and carry his banner through Cairo to Constantinople, the spiritual influence of the Sultan would be lost; on all others it would, I believe, be effectual for good.

I remain, &c.
(Signed) FRANCIS GRENFELL.

No. 313.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received November 17.)

(No. 77.)
My Lord, *Cairo, November* 8, 1885.

I VENTURE to call your Lordship's attention to the inclosed copy of a Memorandum by General Grenfell relating to the employment of Turkish troops in Egypt. It had been forwarded to me at Constantinople by Mr. Egerton.

The further I examine the question the more I am convinced of the necessity of keeping Egypt as free as possible from Turkish intervention of a material character.

As your Lordship will have perceived from General Grenfell's letter inclosed in my despatch No. 76, Confidential, of the 7th instant, even the spiritual influence of the Sultan is very much shaken, and I am convinced that what remains would be seriously impaired if Turkish troops were brought in contact and perhaps in collision with the population.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. DRUMMOND WOLFF.

Inclosure in No. 313.

General Grenfell to General Sir F. Stephenson.

Wady Halfa, October 12, 1885.

Lieutenant-General commanding in Egypt,

HAVING had the experience of a command of a small battalion of Turks attached to a brigade of Egyptians, I should be obliged if the following remarks be communicated to Mr. Egerton, with the view of their transmission to Sir H. D. Wolff.

Directly the first company of Turks were formed in 1884 intrigues with Palace officials and French malcontents began, which eventually ended in the mutiny of Assiout and the execution of two of the mutineers.

Difficulties unknown to us with Egyptian troops began; the men were difficult to control, and though commanded by Colonel Grant, one of the best officers I have ever met, the men were often out of hand; numerous cases of insubordination, assaults, and complaints from civilians occurred. The men enlisted were, no doubt, a bad class, but the Sultan is not likely to send either his best officers or men, and I think it right to point out that, before a large importation of Turks into Egypt takes place, certain arrangements and precautions are necessary, and we should be assured that Egypt is not made a penal settlement for the bad characters of the Turkish army.

As regards the officers.

Turkish officers are useless with fellaheen soldiers, speaking a different language, and, as a rule, in the lower ranks totally uneducated, they are unable to render any accounts for their companies, are impatient of control, and difficult to manage.

I do not see where we could place Turkish officers in the Egyptian army unless they are employed with Turkish soldiers. Arabic-speaking and educated men could

be employed with Soudanese troops. But such officers are not likely to be sent here.

Any influential Turkish officers may be expected at once to become associated with the Palace, and the force would gradually become clear of English influence and open to intrigue.

The amalgamation of Turks with fellaheen, or Turks with blacks, would not, in my opinion, succeed.

Should it be determined to utilize Turkish troops, I would begin by trying the experiment at Suakin; Colonel Chermside speaks the language, and knows the Turkish character well.

Organized there, they might eventually be drafted into Egypt a fairly disciplined force.

If officers are sent, no captains who cannot read and write should be accepted, and a fair proportion of the lower ranks should be educated men.

The number of officers in superior ranks should be limited, and a simple test examination should be passed. Officers should be taken on probation only, say, for three months, and the useless ones rejected.

Unless great precautions are taken, any force of Turks hastily organized and placed in positions on the frontiers, clear of the control of English officers, would be liable to degenerate into Bashi-Bazouks, and harry the country of the few loyal Sheikhs now lying between our outposts and the enemy.

(Signed) F. GRENFELL,
Major-General, Sirdar.

P.S.—At the same time, I think it right to mention that if the principle is decided of forming a complete regiment of Turks for service in the Egyptian army, I have officers who could undertake to organize it, and an officer to command it.

But I should prefer to begin with the cadre and a few men, and fill up as required. The Turkish officers I should require would be as follows:—

Majors	1
Captains	5
Lieutenants	10
Sub-Lieutenants	10
Kâtibs	3
Imaum	1
Interpreter	1
Non-commissioned officers	40
Privates	200

(Privates eventually to be increased to 600.)

F. G.

General Stephenson to Mr. Egerton.

Acting Consul-General,

I forward this Memorandum of Major-General Grenfell for your information, as well as that of Sir H. D. Wolff, and concur with the views therein expressed.

After the experience of last year, when the introduction of the Turkish element into the Egyptian army opened the door to intrigue and disaffection, I would recommend the exercise of great care and caution should it be decided to repeat the experiment, especially as regards the introduction of Turkish officers.

(Signed) FREDK. STEPHENSON,
Lieutenant-General commanding in Egypt.

No. 314.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received November 17.)

(No. 78. Very Confidential.)
My Lord, *Cairo, November* 9, 1885.

WITH reference to my despatch No. 74 of the 4th instant, I have the honour to inform your Lordship that I requested Mr. Egerton, who was about to see the Khedive on other matters, to speak to His Highness respecting the rumours in circulation as to the appointment of Chérif Pasha to be the Delegate of His Highness.

Mr. Egerton did this with great tact, and the Khedive replied that the papers spoke without authority, and that as yet no appointment had been made.

On going home Mr. Egerton found Mr. Corbett, the Khedive's Secretary, waiting for him. He had been sent with a message which His Highness had repeated to him three times, but he did not know the name of the person to whom the Khedive referred.

The message was as follows:—

"Before leaving this morning Mr. Egerton had said that he had seen in the papers allusion to the appointment of a certain person as Egyptian Delegate, and had given His Highness to understand that the appointment would be objectionable; that His Highness had answered that the papers spoke without authority, and that he had as yet made no appointment; but he wished Mr. Egerton now to understand that His Highness was not of Mr. Egerton's opinion as to the person in question ('Je ne suis pas d'accord avec Mr. Egerton), and that he considered it a very important matter, and one which he must discuss again before coming to a decision. The question must not be considered as settled. His Highness had told Mr. Corbett to repeat that he considered it of great importance that the man appointed should have a thorough knowledge of the interior of the country.

I gather from His Highness' language that he labours under a misapprehension as to the functions of his Delegate. By the Convention he can appoint him only for the affairs of the Soudan, with which Chérif Pasha is not acquainted. The other Articles refer only to the Khedive himself, who of course might be represented by his Ministers on matters relating to their Departments, or by the President of the Council, but he cannot appoint a Delegate *ad hoc*.

By the letter addressed on the 28th August, 1878, to Nubar Pasha by the late Khedive Ismaïl, the Khedive pledged himself to govern only with and by his Ministers; and any act taken by him without the advice of his Ministry entails their resignation, or implies dismissal. Such will be the case if the Khedive, acting under the counsel of irresponsible advisers, should appoint as his Delegate in the Soudan a functionary distasteful to his Prime Minister. Such may be his present intention, though I scarcely conceive he intends to carry it out without reference to the views of Her Majesty's Government.

I have already telegraphed to your Lordship for authority to deal with this question. But, as the arrival of the Ottoman High Commissioner is not imminent, I shall probably take no step in the matter before your Lordship has received this despatch.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. DRUMMOND WOLFF.

No. 315.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received November 17.)

(No. 79.)

Cairo, November 9, 1885.

My Lord,

YESTERDAY morning His Highness the Khedive sent Tonino Pasha to inform me that he had received information from Constantinople of the appointment of Moukhtar Pasha as Turkish High Commissioner.

His Excellency will be accompanied by his harem, and a house is being furnished for him with all expedition at the expense of the Porte.

Moukhtar Pasha is, I believe, specially fitted for the post, and I had pressed him more than once on the Ministers of the Sultan.

His appointment has been well received, and the choice by the Sultan of so distinguished a functionary must, I think, be looked upon as a signal proof of the desire of His Imperial Majesty to carry out effectually the objects of the Convention.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. DRUMMOND WOLFF.

No. 316.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received November 17.)

(No. 80. Very Confidential.)

Cairo, November 10, 1885.

My Lord,

I HOPE the Chérif Pasha incident is closed. Last night Mr. Corbett asked Mr. Cartwright to make an appointment with me this morning, as he had a message

for me from the Khedive. At 9 this morning he brought me a paragraph from an English paper, stating that the Sultan and the Khedive had combined together, and that intrigues were fostered by the latter against English influence.

His Highness the Khedive desired Mr. Corbett to say that the contents of this paragraph were perfectly untrue, and that His Highness would give me the same loyal support he had rendered to Lord Dufferin and Lord Northbrook.

I purposely paid little attention to the paragraph, which Mr. Corbett took away with him, but I accepted it, as it was intended to be, as a text for a conversation.

I told him that I was afraid that there were some intrigues on foot, though perhaps His Highness was not concerned in them. His Highness was bound by the Khedivial letter of August 1878 only to act on the advice of his Government. Notwithstanding this, from his message yesterday to Mr. Egerton, I found he did not repudiate the intention imputed to him of nominating Chérif Pasha to the post of Delegate to confer with the Turkish Commissioner and myself. This appointment could have no effect but that of driving Nubar Pasha from office. I perfectly well knew the influences that were brought to bear at the Palace. It was asserted that Her Majesty's Government were to be turned out at the elections, and that the succeeding Government would at once withdraw the British troops, and leave the Turkish party uncontrolled to administer the country. Meanwhile, that Turkey was opposed to the policy of England.

I wished Mr. Corbett to show to the Khedive the hollowness of such reasoning. I would not import partisan politics into diplomatic matters, but I pointed out that the recent Convention was not the act of a party, but was binding on every Government in England. If it was desired to assail Nubar Pasha, this was a consideration that equally affected both parties in England, as both were convinced of his special aptitude for the office of Egyptian Minister at the present juncture. That if any persons counted on disunion between Turkey and England, this was also a hopeless illusion. The Convention proved this conclusively, as did also the appointment of Moukhtar Pasha, who, of all others, was the functionary the selection of whom was desired by Her Majesty's Government.

What was the actual position of affairs?

Your Lordship had given me the strictest injunctions to do all that lay in the power of my office and myself to maintain and promote the influence of the Khedive. In this sense was the language I had held at Constantinople. The Sultan had sanctioned the Convention, and Moukhtar Pasha and myself were delegated to carry it out in a manner the most friendly and amicable to the Khedive, and in conjunction with His Highness.

What would be the opinion of Moukhtar Pasha and his Sovereign if, on the arrival here of the Turkish Commissioner, it was discovered that in the short interim action had been taken that must be regarded as hostile to Her Majesty's Government, and this out of deference to the hallucinations of certain irresponsible and ill-informed advisers? How could such a course of conduct lead to a calm and dispassionate discussion of grave difficulties?

I begged Mr. Corbett to remind the Khedive that I was accredited to the Sultan, and was empowered to communicate with his Ministers, and that if I did not find the idea abandoned of appointing any one hostile to Nubar Pasha, or of any action to be taken against that Minister, I should at once telegraph on the subject both to your Lordship and to the Porte.

I also remarked that the Convention empowered His Highness to name a Delegate only for the Soudan. No Delegate could be named for any other purpose. The rest of the Convention was limited to himself, which included his Ministers, but he could not name a Delegate for the whole question in the manner in which the English and Turkish Commissioners were appointed.

Mr. Corbett, who appears to me a very discreet, straightforward, and intelligent gentleman, then left me, and I also went out to keep some engagements at Government Departments. On my return, an hour or two later, I found Mr. Corbett waiting for me. He told me that he had related to the Khedive the substance of our conversation, and that he was now charged to inform me that there was no intention to appoint Chérif Pasha as Delegate, but that a gentleman would be named in every way qualified for the post.

I asked whether the message included an assurance that no further action would be taken hostile to Nubar Pasha?

Mr. Corbett answered that there were no express words to that effect, but that he conceived his message implied it.

Shortly after, Tonino Pasha came to ask me to call on His Highness the Khedive at three, and I am now going to Abdeen.

Since writing the above I have seen the Khedive.

His Highness said he was sorry to disturb me, but that he wished to confirm, personally, the message he had sent by Mr. Corbett.

He declared that there had never been the slightest intention of appointing Chérif Pasha, nor of touching the position of Nubar Pasha; that Mr. Egerton had misunderstood him, and that he defied any one to say that they had heard from his lips that he had any intention of the kind.

I repeated to His Highness, in short, very much what I had said to Mr. Corbett. Your Lordship had given me the most express instructions to do all in my power to advance his interests. If His Highness would tell me frankly what he wanted, I would always, if I could, carry it out, and I should, on all occasions, tell His Highness in the same frank manner what were the wishes of Her Majesty's Government.

I knew that the object of the Sultan was for his Commissioner and myself to act, as the Convention laid down, "d'accord avec Son Altesse le Khédive," and that I was seriously apprehensive of Moukhtar Pasha finding on his arrival that there was any "désaccord" between us.

Nubar Pasha had been some time ago recommended to His Highness as a Minister capable of dealing with the arduous problems before us, and any disturbance in the Administration would be a bad precursor to our proceedings.

I stayed with His Highness only a short time, as it is the mail day. But I hope this incident may now make the path smoother.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. DRUMMOND WOLFF.

No. 317.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received November 17.)

(No. 81.) *Cairo, November* 10, 1885.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to inclose a translation from the Arabic of an article in the "El Zamân" respecting the appointment of Moukhtar Pasha as the Sultan's High Commissioner in Egypt.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. DRUMMOND WOLFF.

Inclosure in No. 317.

Extract from "El Zamân" of November 9, 1885.

(Translation.)

APPOINTMENT OF HIGH OTTOMAN COMMISSIONER TO EGYPT.—In view of the communications that have passed since Thursday between Sir H. D. Wolff, Lord Salisbury, and the Ottoman Ambassador at London, and in compliance with the desire of Sir H. D. Wolff, His Majesty our Sovereign, the Commander of the Faithful, the Grand Sultan, has designated Dewletloo Ahmad Moukhtar Pasha El-Ghâzi to be High Commissioner to Egypt.

We knew this on Saturday evening, although Reuter's Agency did not communicate the fact to us till yesterday noon.

We had previously stated that the Ottoman Commissioner, whoever he might be, would not reside in any Government dwelling, but elsewhere. We have received information to the effect that to-day steps are being taken to hire a house for his residence.

When the information reached Egypt all were pleased, both natives and foreigners, because of Moukhtar Pasha Ghâzi's good reputation.

He is highly upright, wise, and self-composed—is a man of few words, who listens much. If spoken to, he gives a short but clear reply. He is also a man of learning.

Probably Kadri Bey will be attached to him, or some other person well versed in the Arabic language. His Excellency Moukhtar Pasha is energetic, and can be severe if need be.

It is most likely, if Kadri Bey is not appointed to accompany the Ghâzi, that Jemeel Pasha, Governor-General of the Aleppo Province, will be chosen, for he has been called from Aleppo to Constantinople.

Be this as it may, all the natives ought to be thankful to England, for she is endeavouring to re-establish the influence of the Sublime Porte in Egypt, after that this influence had passed out of its hands.

Indeed, we are sure that His Highness the Khedive and Dewletloo Ghâzi Moukhtar Pasha and Sir H. D. Wolff will deal with these affairs and difficulties, and will solve them in their wisdom and clear perception; and will take the necessary precautions for securing Egypt against the encroachment of the Soudan, and for bringing it again into the paths of prosperity it had been in for so long a time.

As to the Ottoman Mission, composed of Ghâzi Moukhtar Pasha, his confidential secretary, and his clerk, it has not yet left the capital. As soon as it starts we will inform our readers.

No. 318.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir H. Drummond Wolff.

(No. 63.) *Foreign Office, November* 18, 1885, 3·45 P.M.
(Telegraphic.)

ITALIAN Ambassador has spoken to me as to position of Italians at Massowah, and their complaints of antagonistic attitude of Egyptian authorities.

I said that, in view of peremptory orders of the Porte, it was impossible for Egyptian Government formally to surrender Massowah to Italy, but that we would urge them to do what was possible, without defiance of Sultan's orders, to make Italian position less difficult.

Give advice in this sense.

No. 319.

Sir W. White to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received November 19, 12·30 P.M.)

(No. 208.) *Constantinople, November* 19, 1885.
(Telegraphic.)

FOLLOWING sent to Wolff to-day:—

"Mehate Bey, Sultan's Aide-de-camp, has been sent to Cairo with the decorations bestowed on Khedive. It is quite possible that this indicates delay in sending off Commissioner, and that His Majesty may wait until he hears from this Aide-de-camp."

No. 320.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received November 19, 3·35 P.M.)

(No. 119.) *Cairo, November* 19, 1885.
(Telegraphic.)

YOUR telegram No. 63.

I have spoken to Nubar Pasha. He will do what he can. I shall see him again to-day or to-morrow as to details.

No. 321.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received November 20, 11 P.M.)

(No. 120.) *Cairo, November* 20, 1885, 9·25 P.M.
(Telegraphic.)

MY telegram No. 106 of the 10th instant.

Vincent writes me that the 42,000*l.* advanced out of the Soudan million must be ultimately repaid to Egyptian Treasury, as otherwise there will not be sufficient for [?] claims.

No. 322.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received November 23.)

(No. 84.)

My Lord, *Cairo, November* 13, 1885.

WITH reference to my despatch No. 76, Confidential, of the 7th instant, I have the honour to inclose an extract from General Grenfell's letter to Sir F. Stephenson on the subject of the Sultan's influence over the Soudanese.

I have, &c.

(Signed) H. DRUMMOND WOLFF.

Inclosure in No. 322.

General Grenfell to Lieutenant-General Sir F. Stephenson.

(Private.)

(Extract.) *Assouan, November* 8, 1885.

AS regards the spiritual power of the Sultan with the Dervish element and their leaders it would be *nil*, but I think that there are a good many of the leaders that have probably never accepted the Mahdi, but who from various circumstances have joined the movement. I think that on these, and on the whole of Lower Egypt, the fact of the Sultan's sympathies being with us would have an effect. In this, the Mudir of Esneh, who is a sharp man with great knowledge of the Soudan, agrees.

The struggle which is now expected by all the natives in Upper Egypt is looked upon as a conflict between the English and the Soudan, and that is dangerous to us, and the fact of the Sultan showing that he was with us would, I think, have a good effect in neutralizing this.

No. 323.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received November 23.)

(No. 85.)

My Lord, *Cairo, November* 14, 1885.

NUBAR PASHA advised me to see two Arab merchants named Siufi and to discuss with them the question of the Soudan, with which country they are the principal dealers in Cairo. They have also a house at Manchester under the name of Siufi Brothers.

These gentlemen offer to write letters to their correspondents in the Soudan to recommend their fellow-countrymen to desist from further attacks, telling them that by doing so they will obtain better terms from us. I have discussed this question with Sir Frederick Stephenson, but have not as yet availed myself of the proposal, as I am anxious not to anticipate the action of the Turkish High Commissioner, who might place on me the responsibility of any measure he might think premature.

I requested the Brothers Siufi to give me their views in writing, and have now the honour to inclose translations of two Memoranda with which they have furnished me.

I have, &c.

(Signed) H. DRUMMOND WOLFF.

Inclosure in No. 323.

Memorandum addressed by Messrs. Seeoofi, Brothers, to Sir H. Drummond Wolff.

IN reply to your Excellency's inquiries as to the means for settling the Soudan difficulties, we have the honour to submit in brief our views, which are that a Moslem military force be sent to the Soudan under the command of Moslem commanders, accompanied by two Delegates, one on the part of our Sovereign the Sultan, and the other on the part of His Highness the Khedive, and that they be empowered to act as

they may think the case requires, whether by employment of admonitions or by employment of force when the admonitions are not heeded, and that the English troops remain at their present stations without advancing.

The details of this brief statement of our views are at the disposal of your Excellency.

November 12, 1885.

Résumé of our Views submitted in brief on the 12th November, 1885, to Sir H. Drummond Wolff, in regard to the Soudan Difficulty.

THE Mahdi appeared with a religious claim (or appeal), and the lower classes joined him, for they are quickly affected by such a claim (or appeal), and because its results coincide with their wishes, which are to rob and plunder. Then, their belief was strengthened by the repeated victories of this man. It is well known that the lower classes are the majority in every nation.

When the prudent among the Soudanese, whose inward convictions reject this man, saw what had occurred, they were obliged to yield to public opinion in the Soudan out of fear for their lives, and they continued to yield to this opinion, as they knew they had neither refuge nor ally (to expect) from the Government.

From this it may be gathered that the prudent among the Soudanese do not inwardly incline toward the state of affairs now existing in their country, and what prevents them from making opposition is the lack of power to overcome it, and that those who do incline toward it are the majority (or stronger party).

Now, those prudent persons, if they found an ally to lean upon and a force to depend upon, it is not unlikely that their help could be obtained, or at the least their admonitions to the revolters, showing the latter their disapproval of the continuation of bloodshed.

Of course, their admonitions will have no effect unless there be there a force which the disobedient can see.

We have said that the claim (or appeal) is a religious claim. If, therefore, the force be a non-Moslem force, it would furnish a strong pretext for the disobedient, and the admonitions would be of no effect, nay, perhaps, those prudent persons would not be inclined to express their admonitions, out of fear of strong opposition and imputation of lack of religious zeal. Indeed, these prudent persons themselves, by reason of the well-known religious fervour of the Soudanese, might go over and really join the others, for the propagation of the faith, or, if not for this, then for the sake of a religious claim (or appeal).

From the above it appears that a force is essential: and that it be a Moslem force is still more essential.

Again, it also appears from the foregoing that the object in sending a force is not purely and simply for fighting, but for exercising a moral effect in support of the admonitions of the prudent and to overawe the revolters.

Moreover, it is not every one who is able to use this moral effect to advantage among those people, who have peculiar habits and characteristics known only to one who has lived among them and become familiar with their ways.

If one thus acquainted with their peculiarities be also a person well known among them and renowned for energy and tact, it would have a still greater influence over their minds, and his doings would have greater and speedier effect.

No. 324.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received November 23.)

(No. 86.)

My Lord, *Cairo, November* 14, 1885.

THE day before yesterday I called on the Sheikh Es-Sadaat, who had previously been to see me. He is a descendant of the Prophet, and though with no special functions, is much respected by Mussulmans. He expressed himself glad of any arrangement which might place us in harmony with the religious feeling of the population, and consequently at the appointment of a Turkish Commissioner. Though he had not read the summary of your Lordship's speech at the Mansion House, he fully appreciated the views therein contained, as explained by me.

I asked him if there were any points on which he would like to speak to me. In reply, he mentioned two:—

1. He said that a great dissatisfaction had been caused by the displacement of Egyptian officials, and the substitution in their stead of Europeans. Many natives had been reduced to great distress in consequence.

2. He complained of the constitution of the new native Tribunals, and their influence in small cases. A claim even of a few piastres was now submitted to a foreign procedure. This was very expensive, and totally discordant with the social and religious ideas of the people. He hoped there would be some change.

He spoke much in favour of the conduct of Her Majesty's troops, and said he thought the population had also behaved well towards them.

Afterwards I called on the Sheikh Ul-Islam, but did not find him. Yesterday he came to see me, and remained more than an hour. He said that the Egyptians would not be dissatisfied with any arrangements that might be made, provided their religion were not touched. He laid great stress on this point, and spoke very feelingly, and with much intelligence.

I asked him if he had read the summary of your Lordship's speech. He had done so, and was much pleased with your views. He also said that the arrival of the Turkish Commissioner would give great satisfaction in the country, and he reciprocated the wishes I expressed of a complete understanding between Christian and Mussulman races. He also mentioned the question of the smaller Tribunals, using the same arguments as the Sheikh Es-Sadaat.

I told him that I hoped he would furnish the Ottoman High Commissioner and myself with all the information in his power to enable me to arrive at a sound decision as to the requirements of the country.

I also expressed a hope that, if it lay in his power, he would advise the people of the Soudan that it was in their own interests not to force on us further hostilities. We were quite prepared for them, and should resist them as we did before; but we disliked spilling any more Mussulman blood, and hoped they would not force us to do so.

This gentleman is also the principal Sheikh of the El-Azhar, and Grand Mufti. I proposed to visit the Azhar, but he said it was undergoing extensive repairs, and the pupils were at present dispersed in other places.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. DRUMMOND WOLFF.

No. 325.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received November 17.)

(No. 88.) *Cairo, November* 14, 1885.

My Lord,

AFTER consultation with Sir Frederick Stephenson, I have sent Lieutenant Stuart-Wortley to the frontier. I found it necessary to have a special correspondent there to report to me on all that is going on; but Mr. Stuart-Wortley has placed himself under the orders of General Grenfell and Colonel Colvile, and makes no Report to me except under their instructions.

He will visit any places or persons they may direct, and I have already found his services of great use.

Both General Grenfell and Colonel Colvile are of opinion that it will be most useful, where it can safely be done, to apprise the Soudanese of the advantage they will obtain by abstaining from any aggressive movement. I have the honour to inclose copies of telegrams from and to Mr. Stuart-Wortley, which have respectively received the sanction of General Stephenson here, and of General Grenfell and Colonel Colvile at Assouan.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. DRUMMOND WOLFF.

Inclosure 1 in No. 325.

Mr. Stuart-Wortley to Sir H. Drummond Wolff.

(Private and Secret.)
(Telegraphic.) *Keneh, November* 10, 1885.

I HAVE taken every opportunity to ascertain the feeling of the population concerning the advance of the Soudanese, and I gather that, while perfect confidence exists in our ability to defeat any actual advance on our posts, yet there is a certain amount of uneasiness prevailing owing to our want of flank protection.

I am afraid it is too late to rely on diplomatic action alone to stop the advance: the enemy, encouraged by experience, are under the impression that they will be able to drive us still further back into Egypt. Any diplomatic action now taken must be supported by force: that is to say, we must prove to the enemy that we are strong enough to dictate or to propose terms; otherwise, any proposal for negotiations will be useless. In order, therefore, to endeavour to prevent further bloodshed, I would propose the following:—

1. That letters be dispatched to Mahommed-el-Kheir and Abou-Hegel, asking safe reception, at a place between the two forces, of messenger under flag of truce, and pointing out that any advance on Egyptian soil will be met with the most stubborn resistance, and that anybody participating in such an advance will meet with no pardon. That this messenger will be the bearer of important messages.

2. That letters be sent immediately, signed by the Khedive, and Sheikh Embabi, of Cairo, addressed to all the principal Chiefs of the Soudan, whose names can be sent from Assouan, announcing the approaching arrival at Wady Halfa of Turkish, Egyptian, and British Commissioners; referring to the recent Convention, to the connection of Her Majesty with a Mussulman, as Empress of India, and joint anxiety to see the Soudan settled in accordance with wishes of the inhabitants; with these views to invite them to meet Commissioners at some place to be agreed upon between the two forces. It should also be added that Mahommed-el-Kheir and Abou-Hegel have been warned that they will receive no recognition in the future settlement of the Soudan should they continue to advance.

Could you add that arrangements would be made for subsidizing the Chiefs selected?

The above letters might have effect, splitting the ranks of the enemy and checking the advance.

3. . . . Pasha should be informed that his property will be confiscated if he does not afford every assistance in his power.

4. Sheikh Senoussi, who has great religious power over the Arabs, should be persuaded to disavow publicly the continuation of hostilities, and to send messengers to the Soudan.

As your object is to prevent further effusion of blood I send these proposals at once, for if action is to be taken it must be done at once. It would be useless for you to come to Wady Halfa until answers have been received to these letters. I arrive at Assouan Thursday morning.

Inclosure 2 in No. 325.

Mr. Stuart-Wortley to Sir H. Drummond Wolff.

(Confidential.)
(Telegraphic.) *Assouan, November* 11, 1885.

GRENFELL and Colvile agree to proposals in my telegram. I will send by post names of all Sheikhs and tribes, and form of letter.

Hussein Pasha Kalipha should be used, under threat of confiscation of property.

Grenfell very anxious that Sheikh Morghani should be sent here from Suakin.

Please send news of Turkish Commissioner, and anything else.

Inclosure 3 in No. 325.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to Mr. Stuart-Wortley.

(Telegraphic.) *Cairo, November* 12, 1885, 2 P.M.

AM considering your telegrams.

Moukhtar Pasha is appointed Commissioner, and will be here shortly.

Inclosure 4 in No. 325.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to Mr. Stuart-Wortley.

(Telegraphic.) *Cairo, November* 12, 1885.

ASK General Grenfell to telegraph to General Stephenson, expressing approval of your proposals

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Inclosure 5 in No. 325.

Mr. Stuart-Wortley to Sir H. Drummond Wolff.

(Telegraphic.) *Assouan, November* 12, 1885, 7·50 P.M.

GENERAL GRENFELL has telegraphed as you wish.

The list we are preparing will take some days to complete, as the draft letters to each individual require considerable thought.

Colvile most obliging.

Inclosure 6 in No. 325.

Mr. Stuart-Wortley to Sir H. Drummond Wolff.

(Confidential.)
(Telegraphic.) *Assouan, November* 13, 1885.

MR. COLVILE thinks that it would be well to make as public as possible the fact of the approaching arrival of a Turkish Commissioner sent by the Sultan, and of an English Commissioner, who will work thoroughly together.

Do you approve this, and may reference be made to the Convention with a view to show complete accord between the Caliph and the Empress of India?

Inclosure 7 in No. 325.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to Mr. Stuart-Wortley.

(Telegraphic.) *Cairo, November* 13, 1885.

THE idea is very good, but it should also be submitted by General Grenfell to Sir F. Stephenson.

The Circular should be carefully worded by Sir F. and myself.

Inclosure 8 in No. 325.

Mr. Stuart-Wortley to Sir H. Drummond Wolff.

(Telegraphic.) *Assouan, November* 14, 1885.

EVERYTHING I propose to you is with a view to ascertain your opinion before General Grenfell submits to General Stephenson. Colonel Colvile and I are preparing draft letters to the principal Sheikhs of Soudan. Although every letter will be similar in general terms, yet in writing to each Sheikh points will be touched upon which concern him individually.

By such means there is much more chance of negotiation than by a general Circular treating all alike. What I meant in my telegram of yesterday was merely to advertize as much as possible, in conversation with natives, your approaching arrival, &c., and Colonel Colvile would telegraph to his officers at the different stations how much they can say. This merely a preliminary movement.

Inclosure 9 in No. 325.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to Mr. Stuart-Wortley.

(Telegraphic.) *Cairo, November* 14, 1885.

THERE will be no harm in announcing the arrival of a Turkish Commissioner as coming from the Sultan; but it would, perhaps, be better not as yet to say anything about his acting with the British Commissioner.

The Convention provides for the Turk to be the negotiator, and if any announcement were made of joint action, Moukhtar Pasha might complain of our having made a false step before his arrival.

I telegraph this after consultation with Sir F. Stephenson.

No. 326.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received November 23.)

(No. 89.)

My Lord, *Cairo, November* 14, 1885.

COLONEL MESSEDAGLIA, an Italian gentleman on half-pay in the Egyptian service, was strongly recommended to me by Mr. Egerton as being likely to be of service on the frontier. He is mentioned in General Gordon's diary, p. 209, line 16, though briefly, yet in high terms. He had the confidence of Sir Evelyn Wood, and is greatly appreciated by Baker Pasha.

He has, I believe, means of communicating with the leaders of the insurgents.

After conferring with Sir Frederick Stephenson, and after the General had obtained on his side satisfactory information respecting him, I have determined to send Colonel Messedaglia to the frontier.

As there was some question of his relative military rank with that of other officers serving in the Egyptian army, we have arranged that he should proceed to Assouan as a civilian, by which method he can serve under officers juniors to himself.

Nubar Pasha has undertaken to get him leave from the Egyptian army, and I have promised to make up his remuneration to that which he would be entitled for the full pay of his rank in the Egyptian army.

Colonel Messedaglia proposes to take with him an Italian and an Arab, on whom he can rely as trusty agents. We have telegraphed to ask General Grenfell if he approves of their being taken, in which case they will be sent.

As I believe it to be the wish of Her Majesty's Government to prevent, or at any rate to confine within the narrowest limits possible, any further effusion of blood, I trust that the steps I am taking with the full concurrence of the English military authorities and of the Egyptian Government may meet with your Lordship's approval. I think that they may serve to facilitate the mission of Moukhtar Pasha.

I have, &c.

(Signdd) H. DRUMMOND WOLFF.

No. 327.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received November 23.)

(No. 90. Most Confidential.)

My Lord, *Cairo, November* 16, 1885.

RATIB PASHA, a member of the household of the late Khedive Ismaïl, and one of his most active emissaries, has arrived at Cairo from Naples. He is endeavouring, with Khairi Pasha at the Palace, to revive the agitation against Nubar Pasha. It is said that the two Princes, Hassan and Hussein, are also encouraging him. The Khedive, however, has hitherto held aloof.

All the friends and partisans of the late Khedive are naturally very hostile to Nubar Pasha, and they are now counting on the Mussulman feeling of Moukhtar Pasha to assist them in getting rid of him, and in replacing him by Chérif Pasha. The latter is, I believe, too indolent to intrigue himself, but does not prevent others from doing so on his account.

The result of any success in this direction would be to redouble the efforts of the

ex-Khedive to regain his throne. Unfortunately, the Khedive Tewfik does not perceive that his safety lies in the continuance in power of Nubar Pasha. The latter is so pledged and committed against the ex-Khedive that, for his own sake as well as for the sake of the Khedive, he combats the attempts of his former master to regain his throne. Another Minister would be guided by no such motive, and the position of the present Khedive would be very precarious if Her Majesty's troops were withdrawn and he was left unsupported, except by the statesmanship of Chérif Pasha.

With these ideas I telegraphed yesterday to your Lordship, urging that some step should be taken at Constantinople to enlist the sympathies of the Sultan in favour of Nubar Pasha. My strong desire is, that the stability of his tenure of office should be placed beyond a doubt, and beyond the reach of his opponents and detractors. Of these he has many, both native and foreign, and were Moukhtar Pasha to arrive here without instructions, he might, with every desire for impartiality, decide against Nubar Pasha.

Such an event would, in my judgment, be most disastrous, both practically and politically.

It is plain that our difficuties would be greatly enhanced in the complicated question we have to consider, embracing every branch of administration, if we were deprived of the assistance of those who have conducted public affairs during the last few years, and also have during that period lived on good terms with ourselves. To change these administrators at this moment would clearly be unwise.

And here I may remark that the great obstacle in the way of establishing a form of Government, which may be termed colloquially as setting Egypt on its legs, is the dearth of men to carry out such a system. In the former times of personal government, the Viceroy's were men of great individual force of character, and practically their own Prime Ministers. They maintained strong governments under their own systems, and their Ministers were merely heads of departments. Besides this, they were far less shackled by international pretensions, and their attention was principally absorbed by internal requirements. The establishment of the overland route first, and more lately that of the Suez Canal, has entirely altered these conditions. The Khedive is unable to carry out his own views in a continuous manner, large demands are made by foreign agents, and the government of the country is continually under the observation of foreign Powers.

It is therefore necessary that the chief ruler of the country should be surrounded by men brought up in some school of statesmanship.

For purely administrative purposes there are no doubt men who could carry out the instructions given them ably and well, but there are but three of the higher order, Nubar Pasha, Chérif Pasha, and Riaz Pasha.

Of the first of these I have already often written. He began life as a Secretary of Mehemet Ali in 1841, and since then he has more or less passed his life in the public offices of Egypt. The maxim of his policy is, "de faire de l'administration et non pas de la politique." Chérif Pasha is a man of pleasant manners and honest intentions, but indolent and unable to give any distinct direction to his policy. Riaz Pasha is fanatical and reactionary. Nubar Pasha is of opinion that his position and that of the Khedive would be perfectly untenable were the British troops withdrawn. Should such an event occur during the tenure of office by Chérif, it would probably be at once followed by a French occupation, or, if under the presidency of Riaz, by a Turkish occupation. It is, therefore, with no special personal predilection for Nubar Pasha, that I so strongly insist on the necessity of his continuance in office, as being the only man at the present moment possessing the information and uniting the personal qualities capable of dealing with a situation so involved and tangled as the present.

My chief hope of any success lies in Nubar Pasha's skill and Moukhtar Pasha's strength of character, and, in the absence of harmony between these two statesmen, I should almost despair of any satisfactory settlement.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. DRUMMOND WOLFF.

No. 328.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received November 23.)

(No. 92.)
My Lord, *Cairo, November* 16, 1885.

MR. HAMILTON LANG, with whose name your Lordship is acquainted, has been some weeks in Egypt.

During his stay he has examined the financial and commercial aspects of the country, on which he is most competent to form a sound judgment.

I have had a long conversation with him this morning, and have discussed with him the financial position of Egypt. I very much agree with him in the conclusion at which he has arrived, viz., that the burdens on the revenue of Egypt are too great, and that it is perfectly impossible for the cultivator of the soil, with the present depression of prices, to meet the heavy taxation imposed on him.

Mr. Lang leaves for England to-morrow, and I have requested him to call on your Lordship, and to explain to you his views both in conversation and in writing.

I should be very glad if your Lordship would see Mr. Lang, as his experience and knowledge would be of infinite service in discussing the finances of the country.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. DRUMMOND WOLFF.

No. 329.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received November 23.)

(No. 93.)
My Lord, *Cairo, November* 16, 1885.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's despatch No. 49 of the 4th instant respecting Zebehr.

I have communicated on the subject with Sir Frederick Stephenson and with Nubar Pasha.

The latter is in favour of his return, but Sir Frederick Stephenson is not of the same opinion.

I think the matter had better stand over till the arrival of Moukhtar Pasha, who may be enabled to obtain from Zebehr securities for good behaviour which might satisfy the military authorities.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. DRUMMOND WOLFF.

No. 330.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received November 23.)

(No. 95. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Cairo, November* 17, 1885.

I HAVE the honour to inclose an extract from a private letter which I have receiued from General Grenfell relative to the proposed negotiations with the principal Sheikhs in the Soudan.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. DRUMMOND WOLFF.

Inclosure in No. 330.

General Grenfell to Sir H. Drummond Wolff.

(Private.)
(Extract.) *Assouan, November* 12, 1885.

FROM what Mr. Stuart-Wortley has told me, I am glad to find that the proposd negotiations with the leaders in the Soudan will be conducted in the only way that may (in my opinion) insure success.

Time is now, I think, an object.

After the capture of Sennaar, it is probable that there will be an interval before the rebels are again mustered in force for so great an expedition as an advance on Egypt.

The dhurra crop is not yet reaped, and I think a movement in earnest will not be made till it is.

Advantage should be taken in this interval for detaching such prominent leaders as are open to influence.

I think that great care should be taken in communicating with these men.

A Proclamation or Circular of the same nature to each would be of no use, but each prominent man should be taken as a separate case.

Some are open to bribes, others to the influence of the Sultan; others, old employés of the Egyptian Government, would be easier approached through that Government and the Khedive.

The religious influence of Morghani would in some cases be very useful, but in all cases England should be kept out of any Proclamation, except that her army might be referred to as a scourge to assist the Mahommedan Powers to punish rebellion with.

I am now collecting evidence as to the best means of approaching these various leaders, and I hope very soon to be able to submit propositions.

Any retirement from our advanced position would at present be a fatal mistake.

It would prevent the consideration of any of our propositions, and cut us off from communications with the rebels.

I think it not unlikely that the rebels may make attempts on the railway with a few camel-men, and think they may even attempt to annoy us at Koshey, our advanced post; but, as I said before, I do not expect any expedition in force for some time, and I doubt if such expedition will take place at all unless their leaders can depend on support in Lower Egypt.

Meanwhile, the stronger our force is here, the greater our chance of successful negotiation.

No. 331.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received November 23.)

(No. 96.)

Cairo, November 17, 1885.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to inclose translation of a Proclamation by Sheikh-es-Senoussi to the Soudan, as published in the official journal at Tripoli, and reproduced here in the Arabic newspaper "El Zamân."

The Sheikh urges the natives of the Soudan to desist from warfare, and to await the arrival of the Sultan's Commissioner, from whom they will receive kind and benevolent treatment.

I have, &c.

(Signed) H. DRUMMOND WOLFF.

Inclosure in No. 331.

Extract from "El Zamân" of November 16, 1885.

(Translation.)

Proclamation by Sheikh-es-Senoussi.

WE have seen, in the official journal of the Vilayet of Tripoli, North Africa, the manifesto sent, for the second time, by the learned Professor his Worship the Sheikh Senoussi, to the Soudan, enjoining upon the people to keep quiet and not undertake warfare. We give the manifesto word for word.

From him who holds to the command of God, the servant of God, Mohammed the Senoussite, to the leaders of the inhabitants of the Soudan and to the Sheikhs of the Arab tribes in those valleys.

After asking the help of the Living and Eternal God, and praising Him for His goodness, and after blessings and peace upon the last of His prophets, I invite you, oh! ye Islamic people [or community], to the fear of God and the observance of the

statutes of the Giver of the illustrious Law, Who has said, "If two Moslems clash their swords, both the killer and the one killed go to [hell-] fire."

I entreat of you by God, oh! ye people [or community], that ye put away rebellion, and that ye do not split the rod of the Moslems, and that ye be not the cause of the shedding of the blood of your brethren who are believers. For the Moslems are as one body in regard to prosperity or adversity, for if one member suffers the rest feel it also. Have ye not heard about your Prophet, on whom be peace and blessings, that he said words to the following effect: "The Moslems are like a building, one part supports the other"?

It is therefore for you to obey the commands of God and eschew what He has forbidden; and you should not do harm to your fellow Moslems; for a [true] Moslem is he from whose hands and tongue the Moslems have nothing to fear.

I warn you against throwing off obedience and revolting against the Caliph of the Moslems, obedience to whom has been by God joined with obedience to Himself.

Under the head of obedience to the Commander comes obedience to him to whom the Commander has given a part of his authority.

Beware, therefore, of continuance in this course, which is forbidden by the worthy Law.

I have heard that Mohammed-el-Kheir has arisen among your chief revolters, urging you to fight and struggle, and that you have left off tilling and pursuing your means of livelihood.

But as to the Faith, its statutes have not ceased to be efficacious, nor have they become obsolete or lost; the lawful is plainly recognized, and the unlawful is easily distinguished. Place, therefore, before you the Holy (Noble) Law, and take it as your rule of conduct, both as to what it enjoins and as to what it forbids, seeking guidance in the sayings of your God and of your Prophet, rejecting what is contrary thereto. You should carefully examine the same, and you will be directed in the right path, and will leave your present ways and engage in tillage and trade.

I have learned that the Caliph of the Moslems will send an Envoy on his part to Egypt to closely examine your case and examine the best means for securing the quenching of its burning.

This is nothing but mercy toward you and benevolence on his part, for he as at his command power to overcome your community; and this is admonition from him. If, therefore, you leave off strife and dissension, you will meet at his hands, and at the hands of his deputy in the Land of Egypt, a kind breast and much grace [or favour].

Do not, therefore, meet grace [or favour] with unbelief [or denial], and do not give heed to the whisperings of the whisperer who seeks to pervert your hearts. Listen to my speech, and remember the word of God, which says, "Give glad tidings to those who give heed to what is said, and follow the best."

May God direct you aright and to a good end.

No. 332.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received November 23, 9·45 A.M.)

(No. 121.)

(Telegraphic.)

Cairo, November 23, 1885.

MIGHT it not be well to notify to the Porte my appointment, adding an inquiry as to when Moukhtar Pasha will start? The Aide-de-camp with the decoration for the Khedive arrived Saturday.

No. 333.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir W. White.

(No. 214.)

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, November 24, 1885, 4·35 P.M.

NOTIFY to the Porte that Sir H. Wolff has received the Queen's Commission enabling him to act as High Commissioner under the Convention, and that he is anxiously expecting the arrival of Turkish Commissioner.

No. 334.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir W. White.

(No. 448. Ext. 214.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, November 24, 1885.*

I INSTRUCTED you to-day by telegraph to address a communication to the Porte informing them that Sir H. D. Wolff has received the Queen's Commission enabling him to act in Egypt as Her Majesty's High Commissioner under the recent Convention, and stating that he is anxiously awaiting the arrival at Cairo of his Turkish colleague, Ghazi Moukhtar Pasha.

I am, &c.
(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 335.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir H. Drummond Wolff.

(No. 64.)
(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, November 24, 1885, 4·40 P.M.*

YOUR telegram No. 121.

Instruction sent to Sir W. White.

No. 336.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir H. Drummond Wolff.

(No. 68. Ext. 64.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, November 24, 1885.*

IN accordance with the suggestion conveyed in your telegraphic despatch No. 121 of yesterday's date, I have to-day instructed, by telegraph, Her Majesty's Minister at Constantinople to notify to the Porte your appointment by the Queen as Her Majesty's High Commissioner in Egypt, and, at the same time, to state that you are anxiously awaiting the arrival at Cairo of your Turkish colleague, Ghazi Moukhtar Pasha.

I am, &c.
(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 337.

Sir W. White to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received November 24, 6·15 P.M.)

(No. 217.)
(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, November 24, 1885.*

THE ratifications of the Egyptian Convention were exchanged between Saïd Pasha and myself at the Porte this afternoon.

I was informed at the Porte that the Turkish Commissioner for Egypt will take his departure in a few days.

(Sent to Sir H. D. Wolff.)

No. 338.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir H. Drummond Wolff.

(No. 65.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, November 24, 1885.*

I HAVE received and laid before the Queen your despatch No. 74, Confidential, of the 4th instant, and have to express my approval of the language used by you to the Khedive with regard to the appointment of the Egyptian Delegate who, in concert with your Ottoman colleague, is to conduct the negotiations for the pacification of the Soudan.

I am, &c.
(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 339.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir H. Drummond Wolff.

(No. 66.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, November 24, 1885.*

I HAVE received and laid before the Queen your despatch No. 80, Very Confidential, of the 10th instant, and have to express my approval of the action taken by you in support of Nubar Pasha.

I am &c.
(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 340.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir H. Drummond Wolff.

(No. 69.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, November 24, 1885.*

I HAVE received and laid before the Queen your despatch No. 88 of the 14th instant, inclosing copies of your telegraphic correspondence with Lieutenant Stuart-Wortley at Assouan.

I have to express my approval of your having sent that officer to the frontier.

I am, &c.
(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 341.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received November 25.)

(Separate and Confidential.)

My Lord, *Cairo, November 12, 1885.*

IN the "Times" of the 3rd instant I have read a letter from St. Petersburgh, dated the 25th October, and headed, "Russia and the Eastern Crisis." In this letter allusion is made to the report that "the union of the two Bulgarias is the very effective answer to the mission of Sir H. Drummond Wolff."

On this head I think it right to place on record my firm impression that nothing in the policy of the Russian Government was in any way influenced by my mission. On my arrival at Constantinople, and on the occasion of my first interview with the Russian Ambassador, I informed his Excellency that my instructions related exclusively to Egyptian affairs, and that I had no duties outside that subject. This statement I repeated to every statesman and diplomatist with whom I had communication. I had no instructions from your Lordship to deal with any other matter, and I avoided on every occasion, as far as was possible, even to allude casually to any other point of public policy.

On the other hand, it is right to say that, as far as the direct proposals of my mission were concerned, M. de Nélidoff raised no difficulty or objection to the progress of my negotiations. I heard from sources, perhaps not very authentic, that his Excellency had remonstrated against the possible importation into them of other subjects, but M. de Nélidoff, like the Representatives of other Powers, expressed his sympathy with any effort to solve the difficulties and complications of the Egyptian situation, which affects in different degrees the interests of all nations.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. DRUMMOND WOLFF.

No. 342.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received November 25, 6·50 P.M.)

(No. 122.)
(Telegraphic.) *Cairo, November 25, 1885.*

THE Sultan's Aides-de-camp say they are waiting here till ordered by telegraph to return. Meanwhile they have private conferences with Chérif Pasha.

(Sent to White.)

No. 343.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received November 26, 3·45 P.M.)

(No. 123.)
(Telegraphic.) *Cairo, November 26, 1885, 3·30 P.M.*

WOULD you ask Lord Wolseley what he thinks of Ali, son of Hassan Abor Goort, in whose house he lived at Dongola?

He wants some compensation for the use of his house and damage to his ground.

He speaks of the pacific feelings of the Dongolese.

No. 344.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir H. Drummond Wolff.

(No. 70.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, November 26, 1885.*

I HAVE to request that you will be good enough to inform me what will be the approximate cost to Her Majesty's Government of the arrangement which you have made for sending Colonel Messedaglia to the frontier, as reported in your despatch No. 89 of the 1[illegible]th instant. In case you should be unable to form a precise idea of the length of time for which his employment will last, it would be desirable to know the probable cost per month on account of remuneration and other expenses.

I am, &c.
(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 345.

Sir R. Thompson to Sir J. Pauncefote.—(Received November 27.)

Sir, *War Office, November 26, 1885.*

I AM directed by the Secretary of State for War to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 19th instant, with inclosures, and to acquaint you, for the information of the Marquis of Salisbury, that Mr. Secretary Smith concurs in approving the action of Sir H. D. Wolff in authorizing Mr. Vincent to issue (out of the million received for expenses connected with the Soudan) a sum of 42,000*l.*, for the requirements of the Egyptian field force on duty on the frontier.

I am, however, to represent that, as this expense is incurred in measures necessary for the defence of Egypt, it should, in Mr. Smith's opinion, clearly fall on Egyptian revenues, and it is therefore impossible for this Department to recognize the amount as chargeable to army funds.

I have, &c.
(Signed) RALPH THOMPSON.

No. 346.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received November 29.)

(No. 125.)
(Telegraphic.) *Cairo, November 28, 1885, 7·15 P.M.*

GENERAL STEPHENSON writes to me as follows:—

"Although it may not be advisable to employ Messedaglia at Assouan at present moment, he might be of great use at Luxor and Derawe in ascertaining the extent to which illicit trade is carried on across the desert from those places to Abou Hamed, and also in watching the feelings of the native population along that portion of the Nile.

"In the event of Messedaglia being willing to undertake those duties, would you authorize me to employ him?"

I am strongly of opinion that this should be done, and unless you object will concur.

No. 347.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received November 30.)

(No. 97. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Cairo, November 18, 1885.*

I THIS morning had an interview with M. Barrère. He looked very ill, and said that, under medical advice, he had applied to be sent, if possible, to some other post.

He reciprocated the wish I had expressed for a cordial understanding, and promised later to mention to me some points on which such an understanding might perhaps be founded. He himself had always been an advocate of the condominium. This, he thought, had acted beneficially, inasmuch as the two nations which were neighbours at home had also predominant interests in Egypt, and could jointly have regulated the affairs of the country.

He had much regretted the part taken by France in separating herself from England, and then in breaking up the joint action of the two Governments.

He had arrived here with every desire to restore harmony between the two countries, as he considered Egypt to be the only thorn in their united relations.

I told him that it would always be my desire, if I possibly could, to meet his wishes, if he would tell me of them, and that on points where we could not agree, I would at once explain the reasons. I said that your Lordship and Her Majesty's Government were actuated by the same feelings, and that in wishing to act cordially with the Representative of France I was only complying with your Lordship's instructions.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. DRUMMOND WOLFF.

No. 348.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received November 30.)

(No. 98. Most Confidential and Secret.)
My Lord, *Cairo, November 20, 1885.*

AS your Lordship will have gathered from my telegrams, there has been a revival during the last few days of the Palace intrigues.

Certain functionaries suggested to the Khedive again the idea of asserting himself, and he issued an order to the Mudirs to communicate with himself directly, without the intervention of Abdul Kader Pasha, the Minister of the Interior. This action is directly in contravention of the Khedi[illegible]ial rescript of 1878.

Having heard this from a very authentic source, I called on Nubar Pasha and found him with the other Ministers consulting over the incident.

His Excellency and I, after some discussion, agreed that it was best for me not to interfere in the matter unless Nubar Pasha found his remonstrances useless. Yesterday his Excellency told me that he had seen the Khedive, and that the matter had been settled.

I therefore begged Nubar Pasha to speak seriously with the Khedive on the great mischief caused by this constant restlessness. The Convention established one point most conclusively, viz., that until the withdrawal of the British troops the Sultan recognized that the position of England in Egypt was equal with his own. If, therefore, it was the desire of the Khedive that the English troops should withdraw, he was going the wrong way to attain his object. If, as he hoped, Moukhtar Pasha were to unite with him against me or any other British Commissioner, their acts would be entirely null. Every action was to be taken by the three together, and the final Report was to be made by the British and Turkish Commissioners.

It must therefore be perfectly plain to the Khedive that if His Highness and the Turkish High Commissioner choose to take a line of their own in distinct opposition to the course I may be instructed by Her Majesty's Government to pursue, the proposed reorganization of the civil and military administration cannot take place, the Report will not be made, and the *status quo* will continue indefinitely.

This morning Nubar Pasha called on me, and though the hour was early he had already seen the Khedive. He had spoken to His Highness very much in the sense of the remarks I had made to him, and had gone rather further. He had said that Moukhtar Pasha, as coming fresh and direct from the Sultan, would for the moment

exercise more influence than the Khedive himself over the minds of the Mussulman population. No one could tell what really was in the mind of the Sultan and his advisers. It might be that they would wish to treat Egypt as they had treated Tripoli, where the Karaman family had been reduced to insignificance. In such case the safety of the Khedive and of his dynasty would depend on the British Government, their army, and their Representative.

This ingenious argument seems to have had weight with the Khedive, who has promised not to enter into any further political enterprise for the present. But it cuts in more ways than one, and the force of it may later be unveiled in more than one quarter.

The character of the Khedive is a very difficult one to deal with. It is a mixture of shrewdness and *naïveté*, of ambition and inconstancy.

Every Minister in turn will experience the vicissitude of his favour, but having no perseverance or continuity in his actions, it may be hoped that no permanent ill effect will result from his peculiar nature.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. DRUMMOND WOLFF.

No. 349.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received November 30.)

(No. 99.)
My Lord, *Cairo, November* 20, 1885.

IN my despatch No. 82 of the 10th instant I had the honour to inform your Lordship that, at my request, Mr. Vincent had undertaken to advance the sum of 42,000*l.* for the requirements of the Egyptian forces which were to be sent up to the frontier, and I inclosed copies of two letters from General Stephenson, stating the circumstances which necessitated this expenditure.

Owing to Mr. Vincent's absence in the provinces, I have only just received the inclosed explanatory statement, which should have accompanied my former despatch.

Mr. Vincent now informs me that the whole sum of 1,000,000*l.*, which was appropriated to Soudan expenses from the proceeds of the new loan, has either been already spent or is required to meet estimated liabilities. The Egyptian Government being unable to furnish the money from that source, are obliged to claim reimbursement for the temporary advance which they are making.

On receiving Mr. Vincent's letter, I at once telegraphed to your Lordship, and I now beg leave to call your attention to his statement, which shows that the 42,000*l.* must eventually be repaid by Her Majesty's Government.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. DRUMMOND WOLFF.

Inclosure in No. 349.

Mr. Vincent to Sir H. Drummond Wolff.

Sir, *Cairo, November* 20, 1885.

IN presence of the demand for further military assistance from Egypt which Sir F. Stephenson has made, I think it right to place before you the present situation of the account which the Egyptian Government has opened for the evacuation of the Soudan.

	£ E.
You will remember that the Convention of the 17th March allowed a sum of £ E. 1,000,000 for the evacuation of the Soudan; up to the 30th September there had been spent on this account	208,000
It is anticipated that £ E. 80,000 more will be spent before the end of 1885 ..	80,000
Making a total of	288,000
Against this there are receipts amounting to	42,000
Leaving an excess of expenditure of	246,000

The liabilities of the Egyptian Government on account of the evacuation of the Soudan are estimated as follows:—

	£ E.
Ragaas drawn by General Gordon	180,000
Matloobat	330,000
Paper-money	100,000
Indemnities, arrears of pay for Kassala, Sennaar, and other towns, at least ..	200,000
Total	810,000

Adding the liabilities to the expenditure already incurred, we obtain a total of £ E. 1,056,000.

In the above amount I have included nothing for military expenditure in Upper Egypt after the close of the financial year 1885; the military expenditure of the Egyptian Government is limited to £ E. 130,000, which provides only for ordinary requirements in time of peace; all military expenditure incurred above this sum in 1886 cannot be met from Egyptian resources. If the frontier force, which at present exists, is not disbanded, it must be paid for from the English Exchequer.

It appears, then, that the £ E. 1,000,000 provided for in the Convention for the evacuation of the Soudan has already either been spent or engaged. A certain economy may, however, be counted upon from the destruction of a portion of General Gordon's paper-money and Ragaas at the fall of Khartoum; a fair estimate of this economy would be £ E. 80,000; this would leave a balance of £ E. 24,000 for further expenditure on account of the evacuation of the Soudan.

The Egyptian Government cannot therefore comply with the demand for a supplementary vote of £ E. 42,000 on account of further military operations, but are willing, to save delay under such critical circumstances, to advance the necessary cash to the military Department, and claim that this sum be reimbursed by the English Government.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDGAR VINCENT.

No. 350.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received November 30.)

(No. 100.)
My Lord, *Cairo, November* 24, 1885.

NUBAR PASHA sent me a few days ago a Memorandum, copy of which is inclosed, respecting one Hamsa Bey, who is connected with the Sovereign family of Darfour. His Excellency suggested that this gentleman might be utilized, in conjunction with M. Zigada, who has lately returned from Khartoum, to detach Darfour from the Mahdists.

Yesterday I saw Hamsa Bey and had a long conversation with him. He believes that the arrival of Moukhtar Pasha, and the name of the Sultan, may do much, but is of opinion that it will be necessary to use force in the first instance. He says that the recapture of Khartoum, which can now be effected with no great difficulty though necessarily by force, would at once reduce the Soudan to submission, and he offers to send letters to Darfour which would greatly contribute to this end.

I spoke to Sir Frederick Stephenson on the subject, and also to Nubar Pasha, who is much in favour of advantage being taken of Hamsa Bey's proposals. At my interview with the latter yesterday we agreed to postpone any decision in the matter till the arrival of the Turkish High Commissioner.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. DRUMMOND WOLFF.

Inclosure in No. 350.

Memorandum.

HAMSA BEY, qui a épousé une femme de la famille des Souverains de Darfour, qui a géré ce pays comme Gouverneur par intérim, et que nous avons appelé au Caire avant le départ de Gordon, homme très influent au Darfour, pense que s'il lui était permis

d'écrire actuellement au Gouverneur de Darfour, Mahdiste, mais jadis au service du Gouvernement Égyptien, une lettre confidentielle, pour l'engager à abandonner le parti Mahdiste et faire sa soumission au Gouvernement Égyptien, il pense, dis-je, que sa lettre confidentielle ferait de l'effet et aurait pour résultat de détacher le Darfour de la cause Mahdiste.

Il serait à désirer, dit-il, qu'Abdel Kader écrivit aussi. Ces lettres devraient être envoyées par le frère de Zigada, qui arrive du Darfour.

No. 351.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received November 30.)

(No. 102. Confidential.)

Cairo, November 24, 1885.

My Lord,

WITH reference to my despatch No. 88 of the 14th instant, inclosing copies of telegrams from Mr. Stuart Wortley at Assouan, I have the honour to inclose copy of a despatch which he has written, setting forth in detail the proposals contained in his telegrams.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. DRUMMOND WOLFF.

Inclosure in No. 351.

Lieutenant Stuart Wortley to Sir H. Drummond Wolff.

Assouan, November 16, 1885.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to report that I arrived here on the 12th ultimo. I delivered your letters to General Grenfell, and showed him your instructions to me.

I informed General Grenfell of the proposals which I had ventured to make to you in my telegram from Keneh, and he expressed his approval of them. He is of opinion that these letters should be similar only as regards the general points, and that, in addressing each individual, care should be taken to refer to such subjects as have personal interest, and are therefore likely to have more weight. With this view, Colonel Colvile and I are preparing draft letters to all the principal Sheikhs and the leading men of the Soudan. When we have finished them they will be submitted to General Grenfell for his consideration, and I shall receive his instructions before submitting them to you.

I telegraphed to you on the 18th ultimo, proposing to make as public as possible the fact of your approaching arrival at Wady Halfa in company with a Turkish Commissioner, and of a complete accord between the Sultan and the Queen. I did not propose to issue any Circular letter to that effect, but that, in conversation with the natives at the different stations, allusion might be made to those points.

There exists in the Soudan a feeling that a religious war is being waged against the English, who are in unlawful possession of Egypt, and certain actions which have been taken by persons in high positions have tended to encourage that belief. I need not refer to what those actions have been, but it is well known among natives that a considerable amount of correspondence has been carried on for some time past between persons of high position in Cairo and important leaders in the Soudan, with a view to damaging our position, by attributing to us false motives. It was with a view of correcting this belief that I proposed that an announcement of a Convention between the Caliph and the Queen should be made.

As you considered that nothing should be done until the arrival of the Turkish Commissioner, Colonel Colvile has let the proposal drop for the moment.

I heard last night, from a reliable source, that the natives had heard of a Convention between England and Turkey, and had received the news with much satisfaction.

I have endeavoured since I have been here to ascertain the opinions of the natives on the influence which the Sultan as Caliph possesses in the Soudan. The result of my inquiries has been that over the more fanatical populations his influence is *nil*, for they consider the Turk as even more of an infidel than the Christian, and in their

letters invariably refer to the Turk as their principal enemy. This can be attributed to the fact, that while considering us poor misguided people, the Turk, a Moslem by religion, is doubly culpable for siding with us and accepting our assistance. As regards the more educated class of men, the Sultan's influence as Caliph might be considerable.

Although native rumours and native feeling, as represented to us, are not very reliable, yet they are worthy of note.

The impression that prevails in this place is, that Mahommed-el-Kheir will not advance in force beyond Abu Fatmeh, but will confine his action to sending small bodies of men northwards and harass us. He had heard of our reinforcements, which have been largely exaggerated, and many believe in the Soudan that an invasion of that country by us is imminent; and it is with a view of stopping us that he is massing men in the Dongola district. The natives consider that it is quite impossible that he can collect sufficient grain to feed a large force for any length of time. The cultivation of the country has been much neglected. From what we know of the country there is truth in this statement; for instance, between Khartoum and Berber a great portion of the land was waste and neglected, and the Sakiyehs were destroyed. From Berber to Merawi there is little cultivation, owing to the rocky nature of the country.

From Merawi to Abu Fatmeh the country is more or less cultivated, but its product would not feed a large force of men for any length of time. The same remark applies to the country as far as Mograkeh. A large force would have, therefore, to be fed from supplies brought from south of Khartoum. The natives do not believe in the possibility of Mahommed-el-Kheir being able to keep together a force in Dongola for a long time, and say that he will be obliged either to advance at once, or that his force will break up.

Colonel Colvile is under the impression that the force at Dongola is merely intended to draw off our attention, and that the real attack upon us will be made by a force advancing from the Eastern Desert, with the object of cutting our communication at some point. I cannot, in my humble opinion, conceive it possible for any large force to march across the desert with a certainty of a decisive battle as soon as the Nile is reached. Such an undertaking would require organizations, such as, I venture to think, is beyond the capabilities of the Soudanese.

Hussein Pasha Khalifa, the head of the Ababdeh tribe, who is at present employed in the Ministry of the Interior, is playing a very double game, and although his tribesmen have the most intimate knowledge of the Eastern Desert, and could supply us with valuable information, yet the amount of assistance they afford us is very small, and a great portion of them work for the enemy. General Grenfell is of opinion that the time is now past for allowing Hussein Pasha Khalifa to assist us or not at his will, and that some great pressure should be put upon him to oblige him to use his influence thoroughly on our behalf.

General Grenfell thinks it desirable that the Sheikh El Morghani should be sent up here to use his religious influence.

In dealing with the Sheikhs who are not with the advanced force, I think reference should be made throughout to our determination to meet with the utmost vigour any advance, and our resolve not to offer any terms whatever to those who commence hostilities. We must evince no unwillingness to fight. The great object is to endeavour to split the ranks of the enemy, and, by enlisting the support of tribes in rear of the advanced party, to cut off supplies of men and provisions.

In conclusion, I would venture to express an opinion that no negotiations will be possible unless certain sums of money are offered as subsidies to Chiefs. About 50,000*l.* will be necessary for this object. Money is the strongest inducement that can be offered, and without it I am afraid little will be done.

I have, &c.
(Signed) E. M. STUART WORTLEY.

No. 352.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received November 30, 2·40 P.M.)

(No. 126.)
(Telegraphic.)

Cairo, November 30, 1885, 1·30 P.M.

AT a Council held yesterday it was decided to form two Commissions: one to consider the lowering of taxation; the other the question of the grain corvée. Would it not be well for me to give Nubar Pasha a copy of your Lordship's despatch No. 48 A of the 31st ultimo?

No. 353.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir H. Drummond Wolff.

(No. 72.)

Foreign Office, November 30, 1885.

Sir,

I HAVE received your despatch No. 82 of the 10th instant, informing me that Mr. Vincent, in advancing, at your request, a sum of 42,000*l.* out of the Soudanese million for the requirements of the Egyptian frontier forces, had stated his intention of asking Her Majesty's Government to reimburse eventually the amount in question to the Egyptian Government.

I have been in communication with the War Department on this subject, and have to express my approval of your action in this matter.

As you will see, however, from a perusal of the inclosure in this despatch,* Mr. Secretary Smith is of opinion that, as this expenditure is incurred for insuring the defence of Egypt, it should clearly be defrayed out of the revenue of that country, and that it will not be possible for the War Department to recognize the amount as chargeable to British army funds.

I am, &c.
(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 354.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir H. Drummond Wolff.

(No. 66.)
(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, December 3, 1885, 6·30 P.M.

YOURS No. 125.

You may employ Messedaglia as proposed by General Stephenson, taking care to be in complete accord with military authorities.

Report amount of his remuneration, and other probable expenses, as far as you can.

No. 355.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir H. Drummond Wolff.

(No. 67.)
(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, December 3, 1885, 6·40 P.M.

YOURS No. 123.

Lord Wolseley says Ali has no claim. Details by post.

No. 356.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received December 5, 2·55 P.M.)

(No. 128. Confidential.)
(Telegraphic.)

Cairo, December 5, 1885, 2·15 P.M.

GREAT alarm prevails about affairs on frontier.

French Acting Agent called yesterday to ask for news, expressing anxiety, and Austrian did so to-day. French papers write alarmist articles. I hope the rein-

* No. 345.

No. 354*.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir H. Drummond Wolff.

(No. 75. Ext. 66.)

Foreign Office, December 3, 1885.

Sir,

WITH reference to your telegraphic despatch No. 125 of the 28th ultimo, I authorized you to-day, by telegraph, to employ Colonel Messedaglia Bey at Luxor and Derawe, as proposed by General Stephenson, taking care to act in this matter in complete accord with the military authorities in Egypt.

I, at the same time, requested you to inform me of the amount of the remuneration to be received by Colonel Messedaglia while so employed, and to furnish me with an approximate estimate of other probable expenses connected with his mission.

I am, &c.
(Signed) SALISBURY.

F.O. 407 76
PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE, LONDON

forcements asked for by the General will be sent quickly. Delays may reproduce former complications.

Mgr. Sogaro says insurgents may perhaps not go to Wady Halfa at all, but find their way to Assouan, Esneh, or Assiout. General does not agree in this.

No. 357.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received December 6, 12·45 P.M.)

(No. 129.)
(Telegraphic.)

Cairo, December 6, 1885, 11·45 A.M.

FOLLOWING received from Wortley at Wady Halfa :—

"Colvile has information which shows the feeling of the river population between here and Korosko to be entirely in favour of the Dervishes. There is a large quantity of arms in the villages which no doubt would be used against us if opportunity offered. I attribute this hostile feeling entirely to their distrust of our future action and a fear of our further withdrawal."

No. 358.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received December 7.)

(No. 103.)

Cairo, November 27, 1885.

My Lord,

YESTERDAY I met the Sheikh Morghani and his brother at General Stephenson's, and had a long conversation with him.

He said that he thought the Soudanese were anxious for the restoration of order, if they could see the prospect of a settled Government.

The great majority of the people were in favour of this, and the country was kept in a state of disorder by bad men who were in a minority.

I asked him whether there was any one in the country capable of forming a Government.

He replied in the negative, and added that there must be a Governor sent from without, and supported by a sufficient force.

I inquired whether he should be an English, a Turkish, or an Egyptian Governor.

He was of opinion that this was immaterial, provided he were adequately supported. General Gordon had been a very good Governor. Of the two, he thought an Egyptian would be better than a Turk. The Soudanese knew the Egyptians, from whom they had received decorations, titles, and rewards, whereas they had only a vague and distant knowledge of the Sultan.

I asked him if, with the prospect of a good Government, the Soudanese would submit, but he did not think this possible without some preliminary fighting in order to show strength. He went on to say that if we did not establish this Government soon, the Mahdists would inevitably advance on Egypt. On asking in about what numbers, he replied 30,000 or 40,000.

I told him that we were quite ready to resist any such attack, to which he rejoined that we should always be exposed to invasion unless the bad men were beaten and the good men encouraged to establish order.

I asked what was the proportion of bad men to good men.

He said there were two good men to one bad man. On my inquiring why the two good men could not reduce the bad one to order, he answered that the bad men had taken away everything from the good men, who were in consequence helpless. If we went to Khartoum, he continued, the whole of the Soudan would be pacified, and after two years we could withdraw our troops. I observed that this would necessitate a fresh expedition, and asked whether he could not suggest any alternative scheme. He believed that it might be sufficient to take Berber.

Nothing could be done, in his opinion, without again fighting, though it might be worth while to attempt negotiation.

He is going next week to the frontier, from whence he will report.

I have, &c.

(Signed) H. DRUMMOND WOLFF.

No. 359.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received December 7.)

(No. 104. Confidential.)

My Lord, *Cairo, November* 28, 1885.

THE conduct of the Khedive and his surroundings during the stay here of the Ottoman Aides-de-camp has been most strange. They have endeavoured to isolate them from all sources of information, so much so that they have been able to see persons they wished to meet only in a clandestine manner.

The Aides-de-camp themselves have indirectly sent me a message to this effect, adding that they regretted being unable to convey to me several messages from the Sultan.

The day before yesterday, on the occasion of the return of the Carpet from Mecca, a great ceremony, the Khedive did not invite me, and when the Aides-de-camp went to the ceremony themselves they were shown into an inner room alone, and the door was shut on them.

Chérif Pasha, who has never called on me, went to them, and great pressure was employed to induce them to insist on his being made the Delegate of the Khedive to confer with the Turkish High Commissioner and myself. This they refused to do, stating that they merely came to invest the Khedive with the Order, and having strict injunctions not to mix up in political affairs.

At the entertainments given by the Khedive, His Highness has not invited any of the foreign Representatives, and he has endeavoured to imbue the Aides-de-camp with an idea of his great popularity in Egypt. They were much pained, however, by the appearance of several of the Khedive's followers wearing the bronze star for Tel-el-Kebir, and they have generally not been much impressed by their visit here.

I think it right to inform your Lordship of these details, as they may have an important bearing on the attitude of Moukhtar Pasha when he arrives.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. DRUMMOND WOLFF.

No. 360.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received December 7.)

(No. 105. Most Confidential.)

My Lord, *Cairo, November* 29, 1885.

THIS morning I had a long interview with M. Barrère, who left Cairo this afternoon.

He told me that, in his opinion, the only future for Egypt was the creation of a strong army under a strong Khedive and an efficient Mussulman Ministry. With such a Ministry the present Khedive could hold his own, though he did not think him a man of any power.

But he could do nothing with Nubar Pasha. The best Government for him would be one including Chérif and Riaz Pashas, who would be willing to act together.

The circumstance of Nubar being a Christian was, he considered, an insurmountable obstacle to his success.

I asked him how he would propose to organize a strong army. To this he replied that an army of Egyptians, with a certain number of Turkish officers and a sprinkling of Turkish non-commissioned officers and soldiers to consolidate the Egyptian element, would be sufficient. Such had been the composition of the army in the time of Mohammed Ali, and without it it would be impossible to reconquer the Soudan.

I asked whether he contemplated the possibility of such a reconquest. He answered that he considered the possession of Khartoum was a necessity for Egypt, and that it must enter into the policy of any strong Khedive.

On my inquiring in what way French interests could be consulted, he suggested that a French official should be placed in the Ministry of Finance, and that a French "Vérificateur" should be appointed to the Administration of the Customs. He did not wish to restore anything like the Dual Control; but, as the French had a large interest in the financial arrangements, French feeling would be conciliated by the appointment of the former officer, while the very numerous French colony, who were largely concerned in the import and export trade, had a claim to be represented at the Custom-

house. At the Conference in London he had, unofficially, suggested that England and France should jointly guarantee the Privileged Loan at a rate of interest which would give the Egyptian Treasury a considerable surplus. He still thought something of the kind should be done.

Sir Evelyn Baring had suggested to him that instead of the mixed Administration existing in different Departments, each country should appropriate certain branches in which their control should be unmixed. He had objected to this plan, thinking that there would be constant conflicts between Departments, instead of their being limited to individual Administrators.

M. Barrère's tone was most friendly and conciliatory, and he expressed regret at being obliged to leave Egypt at this moment, as he would have been glad to assist me in my labours.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. DRUMMOND WOLFF.

No. 361.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received December 7.)

(No. 106.)

My Lord, *Cairo, November* 30, 1885.

I HAVE the honour to transmit to your Lordship copies of a despatch and of a private letter from Lieutenant Stuart Wortley addressed to me from Assouan.

These papers are, I think your Lordship will consider, very able, and I venture to call your Lordship's attention to their contents, which raise questions of great importance.

In case Her Majesty's Government should come to any decision as to the views contained in Mr. Stuart Wortley's despatch, I should be glad of some intimation by telegraph.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. DRUMMOND WOLFF.

P.S.—I have shown the inclosures in this despatch to Sir F. Stephenson.
H. D. W.

Inclosure 1 in No. 361.

Lieutenant Stuart Wortley to Sir H. Drummond Wolff.

Sir, *Assouan, November* 23, 1885.

I HAVE already alluded in my telegrams and letters to the question of the Dongola Province. As I believe that it is of great importance, and one on which the chance of success of any negotiations with the Soudanese must mainly depend, I venture to bring to your notice certain points which may be thought worthy of consideration.

It is generally allowed that the present position on the frontier is most unsatisfactory, and that we must either withdraw our troops to Assouan, with an outpost at Korosko, or that we must retake Dongola, and fix our frontier at some point south of that place which shall be deemed most advisable both as regards strategical and commercial purposes.

It is obviously impossible to withdraw any troops from their present positions until the advanced party of the enemy has received a decided check. But even after that had been effected, it must be borne in mind that the enemy against whom we are opposed do not estimate their successes or defeats by the number of men they kill or lose, but by the results which follow. If, therefore, we were to inflict upon the enemy a severe loss, and then to retire our troops, such a movement would be considered as a proof of our weakness and of our inability to hold our positions. Every village which we leave in our rear adds, by force, to the ranks of the enemy. There is no doubt that they would speedily reorganize and advance still further upon Egypt proper, until they were again met by our troops; and we should thus be obliged to maintain a large force on the frontier, with little prospect of reduction, a great and continual cost to Egypt.

From a commercial point of view, a withdrawal on Assouan would be equally disastrous. Hardly any trade would be brought to Assouan if the country south of that place were left in a state of chaos and with no form of government. The trade would be

carried on chiefly through the desert in an illicit manner, and whereas certain private individuals might gain in this manner, the exchange of commerce between Egypt and the Soudan would be almost *nil*, as at present. It is obvious that the smaller the distance is from the source of trade to the market the easier the transport becomes, and therefore the nearer we approach that source the greater are the facilities offered for commerce.

The great trade routes from Kordofan and Darfour meet the Nile at Debbeh, Abu Gus, and the northern end of the Wady-el-Kab. If that country is left in an unsettled state, a barrier will exist between the Egyptian frontier and the source of Soudan trade; the number of traders who could afford to send large caravans by the desert to Assouan, or other places north, would be very small.

I may add one argument, which I consider is most important. Egypt is at this moment crowded with all kinds of refugees from the Soudan, chiefly from the Province of Dongola. There is a very natural desire amongst them to regain their homes, and they are awaiting with considerable anxiety the issue of the coming fight. If we were to withdraw still further, some trouble might be expected from these refugees, as they would consider that their only chance of returning to their country would be by aiding the enemy; and though now a source of trouble in Egypt, they would thus become doubly so.

I fear that I have failed to express myself clearly on this subject, but from whatever point of view we examine this question, military, political, commercial, or economical, the arguments are against withdrawal.

If Her Majesty's Government decide on retaking the Dongola Province, I believe that such an undertaking could be made with comparative ease and little cost, if done at the right moment. That would be to follow up the enemy with a mixed force immediately after we have defeated them, and before they have had time to reorganize. I will not presume to enter into the military question of what force would be required for such a movement, but I do not think it would entail much reinforcement. As regards the Dongola Province, as I have before stated, Debbeh may be considered as the merging point of all the desert routes; the tribes in the immediate neighbourhood of that place are the Shagiyeh, Hawawir Sowarab, and Kabbabish. All these tribes would, with offers of monopoly of trade of desert routes, and of sufficient subsidies to their Sheikhs, be able to maintain their country against aggression from the south. A frontier would thus be fixed as near as possible to the source of trade, and with a substantial barrier between it and any aggressive tribes.

The railway already reaches to Akashch, and could be extended to Abu Fatmeh; or if this was considered too great an outlay, a system of portage by steamers and tramways, as proposed by General Gordon, might be established. Undoubtedly a railway is to some extent a source of weakness, as it requires defence, whereas steamers can always be withdrawn, if necessary, on to fortified posts. There would thus be a complete line of communication between Egypt and the Soudan.

The Dongola Province is in itself so rich that as soon as a Government was established it might be made to pay for its own defence, and furnish its own army.

Objections may be raised to the cost of such a proceeding as the retaking of Dongola. These may appear to be just, as an outlay would be necessary, but as regards the future there can be no doubt which would be the most economical of the two courses.

I have now ventured to write at some length on this subject; and I have only to add that the best man in Egypt to intrust with the re-establishment of a Government in Dongola would be Abd-el-Kader Pasha. He has a great reputation in the Soudan, an intimate knowledge of the country, and is much feared. I am confident that in a short time he would be able to put matters on a satisfactory footing.

As I conclude that the desire of Her Majesty's Government is to withdraw British troops from the frontier as soon as possible, I beg most humbly to submit the above remarks for your consideration; whatever policy Her Majesty's Government adopt, I beg to submit the sooner it is defined the better.

A policy of withdrawal will render any negotiation with the tribes almost impossible, and will greatly increase the difficulties of the situation. An advance on Dongola and a complete rout of the enemy will facilitate negotiations, and prove the only possible means of re-establishing order and encouraging trade.

I have, &c.

(Signed) EDWARD M. STUART WORTLEY.

Inclosure 2 in No. 361.

Lieutenant Stuart Wortley to Sir H. Drummond Wolff.

(Private.) *Assouan, November* 23, 1885.

My dear Sir Henry,

I HAVE really little or nothing of interest to report to you by this mail. The movements or, rather, the halt of the enemy at Dulgo for some days gave rise to various rumours, but the information which we have is not of a very trustworthy or important nature. Last night it was reported that the enemy had moved their main body to Absarat, which is 40 miles across the desert from our outposts; but if they intend to follow the course of the Nile they have a long bend in front of them, which increases their distance from us to about 70 miles. It is a great pity that we have not more movable force, as, by cutting across the desert to Absarat, we might harass the enemy very considerably in the rear. I do not think we shall exchange shots for some time yet. The accounts of the strength of the enemy are so various that it is quite impossible to arrive at any satisfactory conclusion; but I do not think that they exceed 5,000 or 6,000 men, and a large proportion of them are the mob which has been gathered together in the march, and will not prove very formidable antagonists. Native rumour here is persistent in declaring that great dissension exists among certain tribes who refuse to join in the advance upon our posts. With native intelligence to rely upon it is almost impossible to arrive at the truth. We can only at present be prepared for any attack, and the sooner it comes the easier will be the way to negotiation.

I send you a translation of a song, which a young Soudanese girl has informed us is common among the Dervishes. It is curious in two points: one, the reference to Gordon as having escaped from Khartoum; another, the reference to the Mahdi's coming, and his being well.

With regard to the first: there are, no doubt, a great many people even now who do not consider that any really reliable evidence of Gordon's death has ever been given; and that it is quite possible he may have escaped from Khartoum and made his way south. I think it would be a great pity to open the question again, now that Miss Gordon and all his relatives look upon his death as a fact. Allowing that Gordon did escape, it is now eleven months since Khartoum fell, and if he had been able to make his way to the Congo or Zanzibar we should have heard of him, or rumours about him, long before this. I am afraid that even if he was not killed at Khartoum, he must have been killed further south. The allusion to him in the song is, however, curious, and worthy of notice.

The second point is the allusion to the Mahdi as well, and as coming. Colvile does not consider that the fact of the Mahdi's death is by any means established, and he believes that the Mahdi is merely hiding himself in order to reappear suddenly as if from the dead, and thus show himself to be immortal in the eyes of the people. General Grenfell, however, considers that his death has been proved beyond doubt, and that if he had played the above game he would have appeared at the Bairam, or on some great religious occasion. I am certainly of General Grenfell's opinion. It would have been possible for the Mahdi to have hidden himself for some little time, but I do not think that he would gain anything by such a prolonged concealment, and it would have been impossible to keep the fact of his being yet alive from his followers; it must have got out somehow, and we should have heard rumours of the kind.

I have told you that I do not believe in the complete union of the Soudanese at this moment; but, now that the advancing enemy are so near to us, I think it would be difficult to persuade any tribes to declare openly in our favour until the issue of the coming fight is known; but everything should be prepared and ready, and some definite line of policy as regards Dongola and the settlement of the Soudan should be determined upon, so that our action may be prompt. We should not give the enemy time for reorganization, but establish, beyond a doubt, our strength. So many men killed has no lasting effect upon the enemy unless we follow up the success, and a repetition of bloodshed will be certain to occur. You know my views as regards Dongola; we shall never be able to do anything with the Soudan if we retire an inch, we shall increase our enemies, and oblige the maintenance of an English force on the frontier. There would be no trade, and we should bring fanaticism to the very heart of Egypt.

General Grenfell has now stopped, to a very considerable extent, the traffic in grain and other things between the Soudan and this part of the Nile, as he has frequent patrols going about; but he has not sufficient force to spread down the Nile to watch certain places between Derawi and Luxor which are known starting and receiving points for Soudan traffic. General Baker has a reserve battalian of about 1,000 blacks, and he

once told me, in course of conversation, that he would send 400 of these men to be quartered at various points for the purpose of stopping traffic.

General Grenfell desires me to say that it would be a very excellent thing if this was carried out, as the more we annoy the enemy, by stopping trade and shutting off communication, the more chance we have of making them feel the disadvantages of carrying on hostilities, and therefore negotiation will be made easier. Perhaps you could do something on this question.

Yours, &c.
(Signed) EDWARD STUART WORTLEY.

Inclosure 3 in No. 361.

Translation of a Song said by a young Soudanese Woman to be now popular among the Dervishes.

The Gordon has slipped [away],
He fled [*lit.* jumped] from the fight
The son of an uncircumcised mother.
Although his wife had her bangles on [in spite of her encouragement],
He fled and left her alone.
The True Guide is well.
The Mahdi is coming.
Stand in good order.
The victorious [army] coming.
Expect the Mahdi.
Stand fast.
Let not fear [make you]
Abandon your journey.

(Free translation of the foregoing Song.)

The Gordon, the son of th' accursed,
Escaped us, and fled from the fray,
Despite the war-songs of his wife
He left her to mourn him alone.
Our guide to the true faith is well,
The Mahdi th' expected will come.
Be steadfast and firm in your ranks.
The invincible army has come.
Await ye the Mahdi in faith,
Nor fear that the infidels' wiles
Can stop the invincible march.

No. 363.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received December 7.)

(No. 107.)
My Lord, *Cairo, November* 30, 1885.

SOME time ago I telegraphed to his Excellency Saïd Pasha to request him to let me know, by telegraph, the date of the arrival at Alexandria of his Excellency Moukhtar Pasha.

In answer to this I received a letter, a copy of which is inclosed.

As, for many reasons, I consider it desirable that the Porte should be aware of the very strange attitude towards myself of the Imperial Aides-de-camp here, which, I am told, was not in consequence of any orders from the Sultan, I have thought it right to let Saïd Pasha gather how matters stood, and have in consequence addressed him a private letter, of which I have also the honour to forward a copy to your Lordship.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. DRUMMOND WOLFF.

No. 365*.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir W. White.

(No. 472. Ext. 238.)

Foreign Office, December 9, 1885.

Sir,

I INSTRUCTED you to-day, by telegraph, to point out to the Porte the great inconvenience caused by the delay in the formal appointment and departure of the Turkish High Commissioner for Egypt, in accordance with the terms of the Convention of the 24th October last; and to state that the outbreak of hostilities in the Soudan might very possibly have been prevented, had Ghazi Moukhtar Pasha left for Cairo immediately after the signature of the Convention.

I am, &c.

(Signed) SALISBURY.

Inclosure 1 in No. 363.

Saïd Pasha to Sir H. Drummond Wolff.

Sublime Porte, le 23 *Novembre*, 1885.

Chère Excellence,

J'AI eu l'honneur de recevoir le télégramme que votre Excellence a bien voulu m'adresser le 13 du mois courant pour me demander de la prévenir du jour de l'arrivée en Égypte de son Excellence Ahmed Moukhtar Pacha.

Je ne manquerai pas, suivant le désir de votre Excellence, de lui télégraphier aussitôt que le Commissaire Impérial aura quitté la capitale.

En attendant, je saisis l'occasion que votre Excellence m'a offerte pour l'assurer que je conserve le souvenir le plus agréable des relations qu'il m'a été donné d'entretenir avec elle et la prier de vouloir bien me continuer sa précieuse amitié.

Veuillez, &c.

(Signé) SAÏD.

Inclosure 2 in No. 363.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to Saïd Pasha.

Caire, le 30 *Novembre*, 1885.

Chère Excellence,

MERCI pour votre très aimable lettre du 23 du courant. Je vous saurai très gré de me tenir au courant des mouvements de son Excellence Moukhtar Pacha.

Je vous prierais d'exprimer à Sa Majesté Impériale le Sultan tout le regret que j'ai éprouvé de ne pas avoir pu lui envoyer l'assurance de mon très profond respect par l'entremise des deux Aides-de-camp qui sont venus ici porter à Son Altesse le Khédive la décoration de l'Imtiaz.

Mais comme malheureusement je n'ai eu aucune occasion de les voir, ni chez moi ni ailleurs, j'ai dû me priver de l'honneur que j'aurais hautement apprécié de soumettre encore une fois à Sa Majesté Impériale l'expression de ma profonde reconnaissance pour l'extrême bonté dont Sa Majesté Impériale a toujours daigné m'honorer.

En même temps, je vous remercie très sincèrement des expressions d'amitié que vous m'avez témoignées et de vous assurer que je les estime au plus haut degré.

Veuillez, &c.

(Signé) H. DRUMMOND WOLFF.

No. 364.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received December 8, 11 A.M.)

(No. 132.)
(Telegraphic.)

Cairo, December 8, 1885, 10·17 A.M.

MIGHT it not be well to point out to the Porte that, by delay in sending the High Commissioner, an opportunity has been lost for attempting peaceful negotiations in the Soudan, hostilities having recommenced?

No. 365.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir W. White.

(No. 238.)
(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, December 9, 1885, 8 A.M.

GREAT inconvenience caused by delay in appointing Egyptian Commissioner. Point out to the Porte that the outbreak of hostilities in the Soudan might have been prevented if Moukhtar had been sent at once.

No. 366.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir H. Drummond Wolff.

(No. 68.)
(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, December 9, 1885, 8 A.M.*

YOURS No. 132.

I have done so.

No. 367.

Sir W. White to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received December 9, 8 P.M.)

(No. 235.)
(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, December 9, 1885, 7·8 P.M.*

YOUR telegram No. 238 of to-day.

I have not ceased pressing for departure of Egyptian High Commissioner, and I expected his Excellency to leave to-morrow evening, but have just been informed that on account of his having to embark carriages and horses he cannot get ready till Sunday, when I am promised he will leave for certain. This from Sultan.

No. 368.

Sir R. Thompson to Sir J. Pauncefote.—(Received December 10.)

(Confidential.)
Sir, *War Office, December 10, 1885.*

I AM directed by the Secretary of State for War to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 3rd instant, transmitting correspondence relative to the repayment by Her Majesty's Government of the sum of 42,000*l.* advanced by the Egyptian Government for the requirements of the Egyptian frontier force, and I am to acquaint you, for the information of the Marquis of Salisbury, that there are no funds under the control of the War Department out of which this advance could be repaid, and, moreover, that it appears to Mr. Secretary Smith to have been made by the Egyptian Government for the necessary expenses of their own troops employed in the duty of defending their own frontier, or of assisting British troops in its defence.

I am to add that, if Her Majesty's Government undertake to repay the amount in question, it can only, in Mr. Smith's opinion, be obtained by presenting a Supplementary Estimate to Parliament, and it would appear to involve the admission that the charge for any part of the Egyptian army engaged in assisting to defend the frontier of Egypt may have to be provided for by votes of the British Parliament, if adequate provision—which would seem to be the case—has not been made in the Egyptian Budget.

I am, &c.
(Signed) RALPH THOMPSON.

No. 369.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received December 11, 3·35 P.M.)

(No. 136.)
(Telegraphic.) *Cairo, December 11, 1885, 2·5 P.M.*

MY telegram, Private, of the 4th instant.

I understand War Office wish for withdrawal to Wady Halfa after successful repulse of Soudanese.

I must repeat on political grounds my great regret if such a course is taken. A withdrawal after a repulse of the enemy will have a very bad effect by spreading panic among the population and foreign colonies in Egypt, and will encourage the Soudanese. After every former victory we have withdrawn, and the Soudanese consider they have carried their point, as notwithstanding slaughter we have done exactly what they wanted, viz., evacuated the country and drawn further back.

Of course, I can offer no remark on military matters, but have shown this to the General, who to a certain extent sees the force of my remarks on political grounds.

No. 370.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received December 12, 11 P.M.)

(No. 140. Most Confidential.)
(Telegraphic.) *Cairo, December 12, 1885, 7·10 P.M.*

WHEN Sultan's Aides-de-camp were here, the Khedive received an invitation to proceed in the spring to Constantinople. I hear from a good source that he has since received a further telegram from the Sultan desiring him not to come until he has arranged matters with Moukhtar Pasha and myself.

No. 371.

Sir W. White to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received December 13, 3·30 P.M.)

(No. 238.)
(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, December 13, 1885, 1 P.M.*

FOLLOWING sent to Wolff:—

"Ottoman High Commissioner has again postponed sailing till to-morrow, Monday; papers not ready. Shall keep you informed of his movements."

No. 372.

Sir W. White to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received December 14, 11 P.M.)

(No. 239.)
(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, December 14, 1885, 7·40 P.M.*

IMPERIAL High Commissioner has again postponed his intended departure for Egypt from to-day to Wednesday next.

I shall renew representations to the Porte to-morrow urging the inconvenience of these constant delays.

(Sent to Sir H. D. Wolff.)

No. 373.

Sir W. White to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received December 17, 2·50 P.M.)

(No. 241.)
(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, December 17, 1885.*

FOLLOWING sent to Wolff:—

"I have addressed Porte officially yesterday complaining of Moukhtar's delays. This morning I sent Sir A. Sandison to the Palace, but am quite unable to make out the cause of it, or when he is going. I shall not cease to continue to keep you informed of his movements."

No. 374.

Sir W. White to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received by telegraph, December 17.)

(No. 587. Ext. 241.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, December 17, 1885.*

I HAVE the honour to state that in consequence of the continued delay in dispatching Moukhtar Pasha, the Turkish High Commissioner, to Egypt, I considered it my duty to address an official note, of which I inclose copy, to the Sublime Porte, protesting against this procrastination.

I sent the note yesterday, and this morning I directed Sir Alfred Sandison to inquire at the Palace the reason for Moukhtar Pasha's delay, but I have not succeeded either in obtaining any satisafctory reason or in learning that any date has been fixed.

I need not add that I shall not fail to keep both your Lordship and Sir H. D. Wolff informed of his Excellency's movements.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. A. WHITE.

Inclosure in No. 374.

Sir W. White to Saïd Pasha.

Constantinople, December 15, 1885.

M. le Ministre,

BY a Convention signed on the 24th October, 1885, between His Imperial Majesty the Sultan and Her Majesty the Queen, it was stipulated by Article I that the two Governments should each appoint a High Commissioner for Egypt.

Her Majesty the Queen appointed the Right Honourable Sir H. Drummond Wolff, and I had the honour of giving notice of this nomination to your Excellency by my note of the 25th November; and His Imperial Majesty the Sultan appointed likewise his Excellency Ghazi Achmet Moukhtar Pasha as his High Commissioner. This appointment was confirmed to me on the 8th November by his Highness the Grand Vizier himself.

For various reasons his Excellency has postponed his departure to Egypt from week to week and from day to day, and the important interests which the two High Commissioners were to take in hand have suffered accordingly by the delay, to the detriment of the country they were to pacify, and with an increase of sacrifice on the part of Great Britain.

It is my duty, therefore, to notify to the Sublime Porte the serious consequences of this regrettable procrastination and the results which may follow.

I avail, &c.
(Signed) W. A. WHITE.

No. 375.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received December 20, 8 A.M.)

Cairo, December 19, 1885, 10·35 P.M.

(Telegraphic.)

MAIL was delayed three days, and my despatches can only reach you Wednesday.

I did not regard question as one of Egyptian finance, but I fully believe that unless we do advance on Dongola the demands on English military and financial resources will be enormously increased and almost interminable.

If Dongola were taken the revenues of the province would probably, after the first year, be sufficient to pay cost of Egyptian garrisons occupying it afterwards. I do not understand distinction between English and Egyptian finance in this respect. We are keeping up a large British force on the frontier, which Egypt can never be expected to pay for, and I do not think we can ever find it possible to reduce this force unless we advance on Dongola.

This is the military opinion I hear on all sides, and it is the recorded opinion of Lord Wolseley. By doing so you will immensely reduce English garrison here. Withdrawal from Dongola was a fatal mistake, which I hope, at all events, may not be followed by further withdrawal.

Feeling here is very strong, both among English and foreigners and natives.

Considering the situation in which we are placed, nothing can be more dangerous than any action showing indecision. It may lead to international intervention far more serious than Finance Commission.

I have just received following telegram from Wortley, which, however coloured by local impressions, is very important:—

"My Interpreter returned here, after a ten days' journey in disguise in district between here and Korosko. He reports feeling entirely Mahdiist. Ameers already appointed over districts north of Wady Halfa.

"Inhabitants buying grain and dates for Dervish army; refused to sell at any price. Women and children sing verses against Turks and English. Everybody convinced we are going to withdraw to Assouan. You can judge how far this feeling will extend if we withdraw."

I earnestly hope that any instructions telegraphed to General Stephenson may not contain any encouragement to withdraw, and may give him absolute discretion to advance if he considers it necessary on military grounds.

I have shown this to Egerton, who fully agrees.

No 376.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received December 20, 4 P.M.)

Cairo, December 20, 1885, 1·45 P.M.

(Telegraphic.)

I HAVE just received the following letter from General Baker:—

"In reply to your inquiry relative to the state of public feeling in the Nile Valley, all my most recent reports speak of increasing excitement and agitation. There can be no doubt that this is caused by the passive defensive attitude which we have assumed on the frontier.

"Native populations on the Nile know rebels are advancing. They hear of no rebel defeats, and every skirmish that takes place is painted to them as a British disaster. They are convinced that Mahdi's forces will drive us out of Egypt, and, more from fear than from real sympathy, they are prepared to side with the rebels. Latterly, Maazi Bedouins, whose tribe extends from Suez to Keneh, have been showing signs of agitation and disaffection; their open hostility would prove a very serious factor. I should recommend that half a British battalion should be stationed at Minieh, and half at Keneh, to overawe this tribe and give confidence. Rumours that our forces are about to retire are current throughout the country, and these rumours are having a most prejudicial effect. I am convinced that present evil will increase until we form a mobile column, which can strike a decisive blow and follow it up."

I fear that in London you underrate gravity of the position.

It is most serious. What is the good of a large force on the frontier if it is merely to repulse and retreat? This encourages invasion, and makes the defensive position permanent with all its attendant expenditure. In order to show Soudanese our power, we must not only prove to them the courage of our soldiers, but achieve some real advantage. Otherwise, both politically and financially, both as regards ourselves, Egypt, and foreign Powers, we shall drift into hopeless complications. I wish to express myself as strongly as possible, and with the deepest sense of responsibility. I am convinced that, unless something is done at once, the situation will end in another costly expedition. A decisive blow struck now would save millions hereafter.

No. 377.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received December 20, 4 P.M.)

Cairo, December 20, 1885, 2·50 P.M.

(No. 150.)
(Telegraphic.)

THE public telegrams to-day state that Moukhtar Pasha is not coming, and that the Convention is considered a dead letter owing to resumption of hostilities.

If this be so, would it not be well to inform Porte that, in consequence of the non-arrival of the Turkish High Commissioner, we propose ourselves to undertake the objects of the Convention, especially as regards army, with a view of introducing reforms and economies?

Such a communication would have the effect either of bringing Moukhtar Pasha here or of giving us the tacit acquiescence of the Sultan to our acting alone.

No. 378.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received December 20, 8 P.M.)

(No. 151.)
(Telegraphic.) *Cairo, December* 20, 1885, 7·10 P.M.

NUBAR PASHA has just called to inform me that the Minister of the Interior has received reports from the Mudirs of considerable excitement in Provinces of Keneh and Esneh. These are caused by reports of British reverses and Mahdi's agents.

The Mudir of Esneh wishes to disarm the people of the district of Knous. Nubar Pasha is of opinion that any withdrawal would cause troubles, which might bring the British troops into collision with the Egyptian population.

No. 379.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir W. White.

(No. 252.)
(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, December* 21, 1885, 2·10 P.M.

INFORM Porte that in consequence of the non-arrival of Turkish High Commissioner we propose ourselves to undertake the objects of the Convention, especially as regards army, with a view of introducing reforms and economies.

No. 380.

Sir J. Pauncefote to Sir R. Welby.

Sir, *Foreign Office, December* 21, 1885.

I AM directed by the Marquis of Salisbury to transmit to you, for the information of the Lords Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury, copies of correspondence which has passed between Sir H. Wolff, this Department, and the War Office with regard to an expenditure of 42,000*l.* incurred in dispatching to the southern frontier of Egypt reinforcements from the Egyptian army to co-operate with Her Majesty's forces in repelling the attacks of the Soudanese tribes.*

The amount in question has been advanced from the sum placed at the disposal of the Egyptian Government from the proceeds of the new Loan to meet expenses connected with the Soudan.

But Mr. Vincent has pointed out that the whole of that sum will be required to meet other expenses, and that the total administrative expenditure of the Egyptian Government being strictly limited by the Decree of the 27th July last, it will be impossible to provide 42,000*l.* from Egyptian funds to meet the charge now in question, without obtaining the special consent of the Powers who have accepted that Decree.

The Secretary of State for War, on the other hand, states that the sum in question cannot be defrayed from the British Exchequer except by the presentation of a Supplementary Estimate to Parliament, with the admission that Her Majesty's Government are liable to provide for the expenses of the portion of the Egyptian army engaged in the defence of the Egyptian frontier beyond the amount for which adequate provision is made in the Egyptian Budget.

Lord Salisbury will be glad to receive the observations of the Lords Commissioners upon the question before sending further instructions to Sir H. Wolff.

I am, &c.
(Signed) JULIAN PAUNCEFOTE.

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* Sir H. Wolff, No. 82; ditto, Telegraphic, No. 137; Nos. 345, 349, 353, 368, and 382.

No. 379*.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir W. White.

(No. 485. Ext. 252.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, December* 21, 1885.

I INSTRUCTED you to-day to state to the Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs that in consequence of the non-arrival in Egypt of the Ottoman High Commissioner appointed under the Convention of the 24th October, Her Majesty's Government propose that Sir H. Drummond Wolff should undertake himself to carry out the objects of the Convention, more especially as regards the reorganization of the Egyptian army, with a view to the introduction of reforms and economies into the military administration of the country.

I am, &c.
(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 381.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received December 22.)

(No. 108. Confidential.)

Cairo, December 11, 1885.

My Lord,

I HAVE telegraphed to your Lordship more than once on the great political dangers I apprehend from a further withdrawal of our forces, even after a severe repulse of the enemy.

We have repulsed the enemy often, and in the most brilliant manner; but our victories have always been followed by retreat. The Dongolese are perfectly justified in thinking that, notwithstanding momentary checks, their policy is successful, and that they are driving us further and further backward.

Where is this retreating to end? And, while it lasts, how can we expect the Soudanese to come to any terms? If by the sacrifice of a few thousand lives they obtain an increase of territory, what inducement can be held out to them to renounce their projects of invasion? Death in fighting the infidel is one of the wishes dearest to the Mussulman. His sins are forgiven him. He is "Shehîd," or a martyr, and he goes straight to eternal happiness. The Koran says of these (Chapter II):—"Say not of those who are slain in fight for the religion of God that they are dead; yea, they are living." It also says: "They who have believed and fled their country, and employed their substance and their persons in the defence of God's true religion, shall be in the highest degree of honour with God; and these are they who shall be happy. Their Lord sendeth them good tidings of mercy from him and good-will, and of gardens wherein they shall enjoy lasting pleasure; they shall continue therein for ever, for God is a great reward" (Sale's Koran, Chapter X).

What object, therefore, is gained in meting out to Mussulmans defeat and the death they covet if the result is to be, not a political advantage, but practically a political disaster? The defeat is a transitory incident; the territory is a permanent acquisition. What chance is there of successful negotiation if the fanatics are able to say: "Our bravest have been killed, and are saints; but we drove the infidel from Dongola to Akasheh. Again they have been killed, and we have driven the infidel to Halfa, and he has abandoned his position and his works. The brave will again be slaughtered, but we shall advance until the infidel is driven to the sea, and we shall be in possession of Egypt, and our dead are enjoying the eternity of the faithful?"

Besides this, the gradual advance of the enemy towards Egypt will spread far and wide through the country disaffection towards ourselves and sympathy with the enemy. As to the disaffection, I have already more than once called your Lordship's attention to the existence of this feeling, which is held by many in high places, and stimulated by inflammatory articles in the local French papers. In my telegram No. 129 of the 6th instant, I mentioned, on the authority of Mr. Stuart-Wortley, the disaffection that is spreading amongst the natives on the Nile. With respect to the sympathy with the enemy, we know from many sources of the communications held between persons resident in Cairo and the leaders of the Soudanese. But I think it right to submit to your Lordship's notice a letter, copy of which is inclosed, which I received yesterday from Mr. Moberly Bell, the "Times" correspondent. I telegraphed to your Lordship last night the most salient portions of this letter. Mr. Bell has been in the country more than twenty years. He is a man of great intelligence, and it is his duty and profession to make himself acquainted with public feeling. I rank his experience and access to sources of information as much higher than my own; but since I have been here one of my principal occupations has been to study the feelings of the people, and I must say that the result of my inquiries bears out in every particular Mr. Bell's appreciation of the actual state of things.

I am aware that Sir Frederick Stephenson, on military grounds, is not disinclined to a withdrawal to Wady Halfa, the present being an inconvenient military frontier. This reasoning, on military grounds, may recommend itself to the judgment of military authorities, and with reason. But how can we make the explanation to the Soudanese? The frontier was of our own choosing, and if such an event could occur as a dispassionate discussion of the topic on strategical grounds with the leaders of the enemy, or with the disaffected in Egypt, would not the answer be: Were you strong enough, you would have secured your frontier by an advance, not a retreat, of 100 miles.

Dongola is, I believe, 100 miles from Akasheh, and Wady Halfa is 84. I do not venture to advise as to the advantage of an advance, but I most earnestly deprecate a retreat.

When the frontier was at Dongola, the distance rendered all fighting less alarming to the inhabitants of Egypt; but if the frontier were set back to Wady Halfa, the fact of the presence of the enemy would be daily brought home to the minds of the Egyptians.

The recent success of the Egyptian troops gives reason to believe that Egyptian garrisons on the frontier would be sufficient to prevent invasion. Egyptian troops fight well within entrenchments, and the Soudanese avoid attacking fortifications. It may therefore be hoped that, with the fresh training which Egyptian troops have undergone under the supervision of British officers, means may be found to guard the frontier without recourse to British arms, when proper works have been constructed, adapted to the necessities of frontier warfare.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. DRUMMOND WOLFF.

Inclosure 1 in No. 381.

Mr. Moberly Bell to Sir H. Drummond Wolff.

Bank of Egypt, Cairo, December 12, 1885.

My dear Sir Henry,

I CALLED this afternoon with the object of drawing your attention to the "Bosphore" of to-day. It was brought to me by an Arab merchant with a request that I would tell him whether the statements were true, as they had caused some excitement in native circles.

Of course I said they were pure inventions, but, if I convinced my interrogator, which I doubt, a very large number of natives will still believe the "Bosphore."

The statements are:—

1. A statement as to the object of General Stephenson's mission, which, though not offensive nor probably very incorrect, is so worded as to imply considerable danger.
2. A confirmation of a previous statement that all troops south of Wady Halfa are falling back.
3. That Assouan is being denuded of all defence, except one battalion, to reinforce Wady Halfa.
4. That all Europeans have been ordered out of Assouan.
5. That the rebels possess at Dongola a powder manufactory directed by Europeans.

Now, when it is remembered that Assouan is only six days off Cairo, it is not difficult to foresee the effect in the bazaars of statements that a sort of panic prevails between Assouan and Wady Halfa. When you find some English officers shaking their heads and saying that there is no smoke without fire, the fact that it is implicitly believed by ignorant natives can hardly be doubted.

In fact a growing feeling of insecurity is distinctly visible among natives, more, perhaps, even in Alexandria than here.

I am telegraphing very strongly on the necessity of suppressing these sorts of statements, and so I thought it well to give you my reasons.

The attitude of the natives to-day towards the Mahdi is just what it was towards Arabi after we had given him notoriety.

They care nothing for him; they ridicule his pretensions (or those of Mahdiism), but they are beginning to believe he is the stronger and are preparing to hedge.

Yours, &c.
(Signed) C. A. MOBERLY BELL.

Inclosure 2 in No. 381.

Extracts from the "Bosphore Égyptien."

MISSION DU GÉNÉRAL STEPHENSON.—Nous publions les nouvelles suivantes sous les plus expresses réserves:

La mission du Général Stephenson sur le Haut-Nil aurait pour but:

1. D'apprécier si les renforts *exigés* par le Général Grenfell sont nécessaires;
2. D'augmenter et de hâter l'exécution des fortifications d'Assouan;

3. De rechercher les moyens propres à assurer la protection de la ligne télégraphique et de la voie ferrée du Haut-Nil, de façon à prévenir une nouvelle interruption des communications.
4. De donner son avis sur une évacuation possible de Wady-Halfa.

AU SOUDAN.—C'est avec raison que nous avons publié que des avant-postes Anglais, au sud de Wady-Halfa, se sont repliés sur ce dernier point.

Toutes les troupes stationnées à Assouan ont reçu l'ordre de marcher sur Wady-Halfa, à l'exception d'un bataillon pour la garde des vivres et des munitions.

EUROPÉENS EXPULSÉS D'ASSOUAN.—Les habitants Européens de la ville d'Assouan qui ne possèdent pas de magasins ont reçu des autorités militaires l'ordre de sortir de la ville dans le plus bref délai.

APPROVISIONNEMENTS DES REBELLES.—D'après nos renseignements particuliers, les rebelles auraient établi à Dongola une fabrique de poudre dirigée par des Européens.

Les rebelles possèdent quatre bateaux à vapeur qui ont été remis en état à l'arsenal de Khartoum.

Ils disposent de soixante barques pour le transport des troupes et des munitions.

No. 382.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received December 22.)

(No. 109.)

Cairo, December 14, 1885.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's despatch No. 72 of the 30th ultimo, inclosing copy of a letter from the War Office on the subject of the advance recently made, at my request, by Mr. Vincent out of the Soudan million for the purposes mentioned in my despatch No. 82 of the 10th November.

Mr. Secretary Smith observes that as this expense is incurred in measures necessary for the defence of Egypt, it is impossible for the War Department to recognize the amount as chargeable to army funds.

I would venture respectfully to point out to your Lordship that the view taken by Mr. Secretary Smith would, if not modified, give rise to great complications. I took upon myself the responsibility of asking the advance of Mr. Vincent in consideration of the urgency of the circumstances, which admitted of no delay. But I could not stipulate that the expense should fall on the Egyptian Government.

Your Lordship will observe in Sir Frederick Stephenson's letter to me of the 10th ultimo, inclosed in my despatch No. 82, that the sum of 42,000*l.* was in excess of the amount sanctioned by the Egyptian Military Budget. This Budget has almost an international character, and I do not see how we can impose on the Egyptian Government an additional charge for military operations which are absolutely within the control of our own military authorities. If this principle were once admitted, it is impossible to see where the consequences might end.

By the Khedivial Decree annexed to the Convention of London, the expenses to be charged to the non-assigned revenues amount to a sum of 5,237,000*l.* Nor is it possible to increase this expenditure, even if the means existed, without departing from the regulations thus laid down.

I am fully alive to the necessity of observing the strictest economy in the expenses incurred in Egypt, whether chargeable to British or Egyptian funds; but in the face of the representations of General Stephenson, I should have been open to great censure had any disaster occurred in consequence of my refusal to facilitate the production of the money necessary for this urgent expenditure. Your Lordship will however see, as I am sure Mr. Secretary Smith will, that it is impossible for us to increase the 5,237,000*l.* sanctioned by the Conference of London, by an addition to the Egyptian Budget on which the Egyptian Government has not even been consulted;

and seeing the great international difficulties surrounding our position in this country, I beg respectfully to express a hope that the question may not even be mooted.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. DRUMMOND WOLFF.

No. 383.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received December 22.)

(No. 110.) *Cairo, December* 14, 1885.

My Lord,

I HAVE read my despatch No. 108 of the 13th instant to Baker Pasha, whose position as Chief of the Gendarmerie and Police gives him special opportunities of learning the feelings of the people.

He has given me his opinion on the subject in the letter of which I have the honour to inclose a copy.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. DRUMMOND WOLFF.

Inclosure in No. 383.

General Baker to Sir H. Drummond Wolff.

Cairo, December 14, 1885.

My dear Sir Henry,

I MOST thoroughly agree with your despatch relative to the dangers which would arise in Upper Egypt in case of any retirement from the positions now held towards Dongola. I go further. I am sure that there will be no peace and quietness in the upper provinces until Dongola has been reoccupied and held. I am convinced that this permanent occupation could be carried out by native troops when once the English forces had dealt a heavy blow to the rebels. Dongola in other days always had a surplus revenue, usually about 48,000*l.* a-year. The province, in addition, maintained its own troops. If it were reoccupied, and this surplus devoted to the maintenance of additional forces, very little expense would fall upon Egypt, and Egypt proper would be safe from continued alarm. The state of popular excitement caused by continual false reports of the successes of the Mahdi's troops is becoming serious.

It is impossible that the present position, and the great expenditure which it is entailing, can be allowed to continue indefinitely, and I see no hope of its termination until the rebels have been driven away and Dongola reoccupied.

I have to-day secret reports from different points calling attention to the agitation which is growing, owing to the rebels passing in rear of our advanced positions. The expenditure necessary for the reoccupation of Dongola would be far less than that of the protracted maintenance of our present force on the frontier, and it is to my mind the only permanent solution of the existing difficulty.

Believe me, &c.
(Signed) V. BAKER.

No. 384.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received December 22.)

(No. 112.) *Cairo, December* 14, 1885.

My Lord,

WITH reference to your Lordship's despatch No. 49 of the 4th ultimo, I have endeavoured for some time to form an opinion as to the expediency of permitting the return of Zebehr Pasha to Egypt.

Some days ago I met, at Sir Frederick Stephenson's, the Sheikh Morghani. He was of opinion that Zebehr might safely be brought back, and that if he took an oath on the Koran in a certain mosque of Hussein, the son of Fatma, to remain tranquil, he would consider it binding. He proposed to write to Gibraltar, asking him if he would take such an oath.

It was also suggested that, by giving Zebehr a monthly payment contingent on his good behaviour, his fidelity might be secured, and that the maintenance of his wives and dependents, numbering about 150 persons in all, would also be a pledge for his good conduct.

General Watson and Colonel Chermside are also in favour of Zebehr's return, as is also General Baker, provided he does not remain in Egypt. Colonel Chermside was further of opinion that he might be sent under the same guarantees to the Hedjaz.

I spoke to the Khedive on the subject, who was favourable to the return of Zebehr, and I also requested Nubar Pasha to give me his opinion in writing. This he did, and I have the honour to inclose a copy of his letter.

I telegraphed to Mr. Wortley to ask him to obtain the views of General Grenfell, who I had heard was opposed to the return of Zebehr, and I inclose a copy of a telegram and a letter from that gentleman.

Sir F. Stephenson was, the last time I spoke to him, very doubtful as to the expediency of bringing Zebehr back, but not entirely opposed to it if sufficient guarantees could be found.

Weighing all these considerations carefully, and especially the opinions of native authorities, and of English officers in the service of the Egyptian Government, I am, on the whole, inclined to his being allowed to return on certain conditions. I would, therefore, venture to suggest that, if Sir F. Stephenson and myself can find conditions both as to his return, the place of his residence, and the guarantees for his tranquillity and good conduct, I might telegraph the nature of such conditions to your Lordship, for such steps as Her Majesty's Government might decide on taking.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. DRUMMOND WOLFF.

Inclosure 1 in No. 384.

Nubar Pasha to Sir H. Drummond Wolff.

Cher Sir Henry, *Le Caire, le 6 Décembre,* 1885.

VOUS connaissez l'opinion du Khédive sur le retour ou non-retour de Zobeir.

La mienne est : que Zobeir peut venir en Égypte ; que cet acte serait populaire ; que si l'on se prend bien, il peut être utile pour la question du Soudan. En tout cas, il peut être toujours soumis à la surveillance de la police. Abdel Kader Pacha ne voit pas d'inconvénients à son retour ; il propose, si des doutes s'élèvent, outre la surveillance de la police, de l'envoyer ou l'interner à El-Arish, sur les limites de la Syrie, où il serait avec sa famille et dans un pays Musulman, entouré de tous côtés par le désert —isolé pour ainsi dire.

Quant à l'envoyer au Hedjaz, tous nous y voyons des inconvénients.

Votre, &c.
(Signé) NUBAR.

Inclosure 2 in No. 384.

Mr. Stuart Wortley to Sir H. Drummond Wolff.

(Telegraphic.) *Assouan, November* 29, 1885.

YOURS of last night.

The great danger in bringing back Zebehr would be the chance of his tampering with the black troops, as he did in 1883.

No oath would be binding to Zebehr ; he would swear by anything. His wives as hostages would have no effect upon him, as he would supply himself with others.

As he must undoubtedly be released sooner or later, it would be better to do so now, but the only effective hold we should have on him would be to make any adjustment of his claims or subsidies conditional on his behavour. Money is the only sure means of binding him.

If he is brought back now he should be sent straight up to the Soudan without remaining on the frontier, and be made to use his influence with the Jaalin tribe. If allowed to remain at Cairo he would resume his old habits of intrigue, and be used by influential people in Cairo as a mask for illicit proceedings.

General Grenfell has seen this and fully concurs.

Inclosure 3 in No. 384.

Lieutenant Stuart Wortley to Sir H. Drummond Wolff.

Assouan, November 30, 1885.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to submit, for your consideration, a few remarks on Sheikh Morghani's proposal to write to Zebehr Pasha, to ask him whether, in event of his release, he would swear to keep quiet and refrain from any hostile action towards us.

The question of the release of Zebehr Pasha from his confinement at Gibraltar must undoubtedly arise sooner or later, and it is therefore necessary to take into consideration when such a step might be most advantageously taken and how Zebehr might be treated.

I am confident that, if Zebehr was released and allowed to remain in Cairo, he would very shortly become the centre of intrigue, and be used, as before, as a constant means of thwarting our designs.

Previous to his arrest he was in constant communication with the Soudan, and was used by the anti-English party in Cairo as a tool for all manner of intrigue against us. In 1883, when a black battalion was hurriedly formed to take part in the expedition under Baker Pasha for the relief of Sinkat and Tokar, Zebehr endeavoured, and almost succeeded, in raising a mutiny amongst those troops. As I presume that the defence of the Egyptian frontier will eventually be intrusted partially to black troops, Zebehr's influence among them would be a source of danger to Egypt if he chose to use it in a hostile manner. No reliance whatever could be placed in any oath which Zebehr might swear. As for keeping his wife as a hostage, such a step would be little or no check on him, for the Soudanese have no real affection for their wives, and he would content himself with other wives. I believe that if Zebehr was allowed to remain in Cairo, or in Egypt proper, he would always prove a source of trouble and anxiety to the Government.

Shortly after General Gordon arrived at Khartoum he proposed that Zebehr should be sent up to him; but his request was refused, I believe, on the following grounds:—

1. Zebehr's personal animosity to General Gordon.
2. That, as a known Slave-trader, his return to the Soudan would increase the Traffic in Slaves.

The first objection has now ceased to exist.

The second objection is undoubtedly an important one, as any encouragement given to slave-dealers would no doubt be met by a storm of abuse from many quarters. But it is evident that so long as the Soudan is not governed by any civilized Power slavery will exist in that country. The only means of checking it, and so far localizing it, is by using every means in our power for stopping the market for slaves in Egypt proper. If the Egyptian Government is really in earnest in its desire to stop the Traffic in Slaves, it will be easy for them to prevent any caravans from entering Egypt.

If, therefore, it should be considered advisable to release Zebehr, I would propose that he should be sent direct to the Soudan, and be given every assistance in establishing himself as a Ruler at Khartoum. The Jaalin and Besingar tribes are the most powerful warriors of the Soudan. They would probably join Zebehr, and assist him in defeating Abdullah Jaashi and the present Emir rule.

It would be necessary to subsidize Zebehr, and assist him with arms and ammunition. The best means of insuring his loyalty would be to make his subsidy conditional on his behaviour.

Both General Grenfell and Colonel Colvile fully concur that his presence in Egypt would be dangerous, and rather than allow him to reside there he had better be retained at Gibraltar. But, on the other hand, if Zebehr was now released and sent direct to the Soudan to establish himself as best he could, no harm could result from such a course, and he might possibly prove a means of creating some kind of Government which at any rate could not be worse than the present state of affairs in that country.

I beg, therefore, to submit that, if Zebehr be released, it shall be with a view to his return to the Soudan, and not to his residence in Egypt under certain promises which he would not for one moment keep.

I have, &c.

(Signed) EDWARD M. STUART WORTLEY.

No. 385.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received December 22.)

(No 114.)

Cairo, December 15, 1885.

My Lord,

A DELAY in the mail gives me time to write a few lines on the subject of the proposed garrison for Suakin, as suggested by General Baker.

Sir Frederick Stephenson, in approving this portion of General Baker's scheme, did not express any opinion on the rest of it.

As I understand from General Baker, his proposals were not intended for immediate execution, but to be carried out in a year, when it might be hoped the troubles on the frontier would be over, and the 120,000*l.* for the Eastern Soudan, and the 40,000*l.* reduction of the occupation, 200,000*l.* might be available.

But the troubles on the frontier, and the disordered state of Egyptian finance, occasioned by the deficits on the Domain and Daïra Loans, render impossible any increased charge on Egyptian resources. General Baker estimates the immediate increased cost of the Suakin garrison at 60,000*l.*, others consider it would be higher, and it is absolutely impossible for this sum at present to be produced by the revenues of Egypt. The Budget for next year is not quite ready, but, as far as its contents can be gathered, the total deficit will amount to 203,000*l.*, caused by the Domains and Daïra deficits, which will amount to 500,000*l.* The deficit has been reduced to 203,000*l.* by economies of different kinds, but, if a fresh expenditure on the army is now to be incurred, it will be *pro tanto* increased.

I have the honour to inclose a Memorandum by Mr. Vincent, and I regret that the pressure of time prevents my entering at present further into a consideration of the question.

I would therefore venture to suggest that as the native garrison will relieve Her Majesty's Government of the necessity of maintaining British troops at Suakin, any increased expenditure on this head should be paid for out of the 200,000*l.* allotted for the expenses of occupation, until we can arrive at some clearer view of the future of Egyptian finance.

General Baker is of opinion that an effective garrison for Suakin, without British troops, could not be raised at a less cost than 60,000*l.*, and he suggests, therefore, that if Her Majesty's Government are prepared to meet the expense, it would be better to raise Egyptian and black troops, rather than native levies, as these might be utilized later.

I have read this despatch to General Baker, who agrees in its contents. He admits the immediate financial difficulty pointed out by Mr. Vincent if his system be applied a year before he contemplated.

I have, &c.

(Signed) H. DRUMMOND WOLFF.

Inclosure in No. 385.

Memorandum by Mr. Vincent.

I HAVE read General Baker's Memorandum of the 12th October on the reorganization of the Egyptian army for frontier and Suakin service. General Baker proceeds on the presumption that 560,000*l.* are available for purposes of public security. This sum is composed of:—

	£
Present Budget estimate	400,000
Eastern Soudan Vote	120,000
Reduction on capitation grant	40,000
Total	560,000

The real state of the case is that the sums available amount to only:—

	£
Egyptian army	130,000
Police and gendarmerie	240,000
Prisons	27,000
Total	397,000

The Eastern Soudan Vote of 120,000*l.* is not available for military purposes. The cost of Suakin in 1886 has been estimated at 40,000*l.* The remainder of the Eastern Soudan Vote, viz., 80,000*l.*, will, it is hoped, be economized, owing to the abandonment of Massowah, Harrar, Kassala, and other provinces; but it is absolutely necessary to apply the economy thus effected to compensate the increased charge of pensions arising from service in the Eastern Soudan, to meet the cost of developing revenue, and to pay for increased charges which the Domains and Daïra Administrations have thrown upon the Egyptian Government since the Financial Convention.

The only hope of avoiding an International Commission in 1887 consists in a vigorous prosecution of the policy of revenue development which has been followed with such enormous success in 1885. On the other hand, unproductive expenditure must be kept down with the strictest regard to economy.

There can be no doubt that large economies may be effected by the unification of the army and police. While the English Army of Occupation is in Egypt, and a sum of 200,000*l.* per year is paid for its services, the Egyptian Budget cannot bear a charge in excess of the 397,000*l.* above mentioned on account of public security. This sum is, in my opinion, amply sufficient.

The proposal of the Secretary of State of War contained in Lord Salisbury's despatch of the 5th October, appears to offer a solution of the military question of Suakin which would be satisfactory to both parties.

(Signed) EDGAR VINCENT.

Cairo, December 15, 1885.

No. 386.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received December 22.)

(No. 115.)

Cairo, December 16, 1885.

My Lord,

THE still further delay in the departure of the mail enables me to transmit to your Lordship the copy of a Memorandum by General Watson on the proposals of General Baker, as referred to in my despatch No. 114 of yesterday.

I have, &c.

(Signed) H. DRUMMOND WOLFF.

Inclosure in No. 386.

Remarks on Memorandum by General Baker Pasha, dated 12th October, 1885, *respecting a proposed Reorganization of the Egyptian Army.*

IT appears to me that General Baker, in calculating the cost of his proposals, has over-estimated the sums available from the sources that he mentions, and has under-estimated the cost of the proposed army.

He takes the sums that could be made available as follows:—

	£ E.
Existing Budget for public security	400,625
Eastern Soudan Vote	120,000
Reduction of capitation sum	40,000
Total	560,625

The 400,625*l.* in the existing Budget is divided as follows:—

	£ E.
Army	130,975
Police	247,650
Prisons	22,000
Total	400,625

But, although he has taken the sums for the army, police, and prisons together, yet, as he does not appear to propose to reduce the police or prisons vote, it would appear simpler to omit these and take the army vote, thus making the sum proposed by General Baker for the Egyptian army £ E. 290,925, made up as follows:—

	£ E.
Present Army Budget	130,925
Eastern Soudan Vote	120,000
Reduction on capitation	40,000
Total	290,925

It must, however, be pointed out that the sum of £ E. 120,000 provided for the Eastern Soudan is for all the expenses upon the Red Sea littoral, civil as well as military, and that if the whole of it was taken for the army, the deficit must be made up from elsewhere. Indeed, it is doubtful if even as much as £ E. 50,000 could be allotted to military expenditure.

The £ E. 40,000 proposed to be reduced from the capitation grant can hardly be looked upon as available at the present, when it is not likely that the English Army of Occupation can be reduced by a single man. It would be a question whether the English Government would be willing to contribute this sum towards the expenses of the Egyptian army.

I shall now consider the question of the cost of the proposed army, which it is suggested should be constituted as follows:—

1. In Egypt proper, *i.e.*, north of Assouan.	Infantry	3 battalions Egyptian.
	Cavalry	1 squadron "
	Artillery	1 battery "
2. On the Soudan frontier, *i.e.*, at and south of Assouan.	Infantry	1 battalion "
		4 battalions Blacks or Turks.
	Cavalry	1 squadron Egyptian.
		1 " Blacks or Turks.
	Artillery	1 battalion Egyptian.
		1 " Blacks or Turks.
	Camel Corps	1 company Egyptian.
		1 " Blacks or Turks.
3. At Suakin	Infantry	1 battalion Egyptian.
		2 batalions Blacks or Turks.
	Cavalry	1 squadron Egyptian.
	Artillery	2 battalions Egyptian or Black.

The total of the proposed army would, therefore, be as follows:—

Egyptian Troops.		*Blacks or Turkish Troops.*	
Infantry	6 battalions.	Infantry	5 battalions.
Cavalry	3 squadrons.	Cavalry	1 squadron.
Artillery	4 batteries.	Artillery	1 battery.
Camel Corps	1 company.	Camel Corps	1 company.

and it is proposed that this force should be provided for the sum of £ E. 290,925.

The Egyptian army, as it now exists, is constituted as follows:—

Egyptian Troops.		*Black Troops.*	
Infantry	8 battalions.	Infantry	1 battalion.
Cavalry	2 squadrons.		
Artillery	4 batteries.		
Camel Corps	2 companies.		

The cost of these troops is as follows:—

	£ E.
Present Army Budget	130,975
Frontier Force Budget	135,000
Sum provided out of 42,000*l.*, proposed by Sir H. D. Wolff for extra military expenditure	25,000
Total	290,975

To change the present army into the force proposed by General Baker, it would be necessary to add—

2 battalions infantry (Blacks or Turks).
1 squadron cavalry (Egyptian).
1 " " (Blacks or Turks).
1 battery artillery (Blacks or Egyptian).

And to turn two of the Egyptian battalions into Black or Turkish battalions.

The cost of these additions and changes would be about £ E. 65,000, which, added to the cost of the existing army, would make the cost of the army proposed by General Baker £ E. 355,975, which much exceeds the sum which, according to his proposals, would be available to meet it.

It appears to me questionable whether it would be advisable, as General Baker suggests, to amalgamate in our Budget the Lower Egypt army, the Frontier force, and the Suakin garrison. It is much more satisfactory to keep the expenses of the three services distinct, both for administrative and for political reasons.

There are one or two other points in General Baker's Memorandum which call for remark. The experience of the last three years shows that the Egyptian fellah, if carefully disciplined and under officers in whom he has confidence, makes an excellent soldier. He is far cheaper than either Turks or Blacks, but the latter, for climatic reasons, are more suitable for service in the Soudan. As regards Turks, I would only say that an attempt has already been made to introduce Turks into the Egyptian army, which was a complete failure, which it would be a pity to repeat.

If any change is made in the respective organizations of the Egyptian army and police, I think it should be in the direction of slightly increasing the Lower Egypt army, so as to enable it to take over the military parts of the duties of the police, and of making the latter a more purely civil force, exactly in the manner originally proposed by Lord Dufferin, and strongly urged by Mr. Clifford Lloyd. In this way I believe very considerable economies might be effected. At the same time, I would observe that any great changes are to be deprecated, as they unsettle the minds of the subordinate officials, and cause them to think it useless to attend to their duties, as before long they may be altered.

(Signed) C. M. WATSON.

War Office, Cairo, December 15, 1885.

No. 387.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received December 22.)

(No. 116.)

Cairo, December 16, 1885.

My Lord,

WITH reference to my despatch No. 112 of the 14th instant relative to the return of Zebehr Pasha to Egypt, I have the honour to inclose copy of General Watson's notes upon the interview between Zebehr Pasha and General Gordon at Sir Evelyn Baring's house on the 26th January, 1884.

This record differs slightly from the conversation as reported in Sir E. Baring's despatch of the 28th January, 1884 ("Egypt No. 12, 1884," p. 38).

Your Lordship will perceive from General Watson's notes that certain promises were made to Zebehr Pasha contingent upon his good behaviour; it is probable that the prospect of an adjustment of his claims may still be held out to him as an inducement to remain faithful to the Egyptian Government.

I have, &c.

(Signed) H. DRUMMOND WOLFF.

Inclosure in No. 387.

Notes by General Watson on the Interview between General Gordon and Zebehr Pasha at Sir E. Baring's on 26th January, 1884.

. . . . GENERAL GORDON and Colonel Stewart lunched with us. Giegler Pasha came in afterwards, and we all went to Sir E. Baring's, with whom were Sir E. Wood and Nubar Pasha.

Sir Evelyn Baring said that General Gordon had expressed a wish that certain matters between him and Zebehr Pasha might be discussed.

Then Zebehr was called in. Gordon and Zebehr sat near one another, with an interpreter between them.

Zebehr Pasha was asked what he had to say. He said that Gordon, without cause, had confiscated his property, had put his people in chains, and had caused his son to be killed; that when Gordon had gone to the Soudan, he (Zebehr) had put his hand in his, and had asked him to consider his son as his own son.

Then General Gordon replied that he had confiscated the property of Zebehr because he had been convicted by a Court of Inquiry at Khartoum of having instigated his son to revolt against the Government; that the conviction was, to a certain extent, based upon a letter written by Zebehr to his son Suleiman, and found among the latter's papers.

Zebehr.—I never wrote such a letter; you should produce it as a proof of what you say.

Gordon.—I cannot produce the letter, as it was attached to the proceedings of the Court, and sent with them to His Highness the Khedive. If the proceedings can be found, the letter should be found with them.

Zebehr.—If the letter can be found I deserve to lose my head. [And he drew his hand across his throat.]

General Gordon said, "If the letter was not written, I was not justified in what I did."

Then Sir Evelyn Baring said that he would see that the proceedings were searched for, and he asked Sir Evelyn Wood to endeavour to find them.

Then Zebehr said to Gordon, "And you killed my son, although I had specially intrusted him to your care."

Gordon replied, "I did take care of him, and I had him promoted to the rank of Bey, and then afterwards he treacherously killed 200 Egyptian soldiers in the Bahr-Gazel."

Zebehr fenced with the matter for some time, and at last said, "I was no longer responsible for my son; you had made him a Bey; you were responsible for him."

Then Sir E. Baring said that apparently there were two questions between Zebehr and Gordon, the first concerning Zebehr himself, which turned on the existence of a certain letter, which would be searched for; that if Zebehr was proved not guilty, compensation would be made to him for his losses; the second question concerned Zebehr's son, for whose action it now appeared Zebehr did not hold himself responsible.

Zebehr then stood up and made a speech, mainly to the effect that the name of England and the justice of England were known to all the nations, and that he would leave all in the hands of his Excellency.

After a little more conversation Zebehr left the room.

Sir E. Baring said that the next point to discuss was whether Zebehr Pasha was to go to the Soudan, as General Gordon had suggested the advisability of his going with him.

General Gordon said, "I had better not stop while you are discussing that; hear what Watson has to say;" and he went out.

Sir E. Baring asked me what I had to say, and I answered that it would be a great mistake to let Zebehr go to the Soudan with Gordon, as it was almost certain that either one or the other would not come back alive, and I added that persons who knew the Soudan well had asked me to do all I could to prevent Zebehr going.

Sir E. Wood also expressed a strong opinion that it would not be advisable for Zebehr to go, and Nubar Pasha said the same, but more mildly.

Nubar gave me the idea that he was annoyed at having Zebehr's affair stirred up again, and wanted it to relapse into oblivion as soon as possible.

Gordon and Zebehr were then called in again, and Sir E. Baring informed the latter that it was considered desirable that he should not at present go to the Soudan, and that the question of his return there, and of his position generally, would be discussed afresh as soon as General Gordon had returned in safety.

The meeting then broke up.

Cairo, February 10, 1885.

Mr. E. Hake, who recently wrote the life of General Gordon, stated in a letter to the "Times" that Zebehr's letter to his son Suleiman was in his (Mr. Hake's) possession.

There is no reason to doubt the existence of the letter. It was dated 11 Gamad Awal, 1295.

C. M. W.

No. 388.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir H. Drummond Wolff.

(No. 81.)

Foreign Office, December 22, 1885.

Sir,

AS the Turkish Commissioner is likely to leave for Alexandria shortly, I think it may be desirable that I should enter briefly upon one or two considerations connected with the condition of Egypt to which your attention should be especially directed. There are three impediments which prevent the country reaping the advantage which would naturally result to it from its great fertility and the commercial facilities given to it by its position; they are the frontier difficulties, the embarrassments bequeathed to the Exchequer by the improvident finance of former times, and the hindrance which is offered to all effective administration by the peculiar international obligations which Egypt has incurred. You are already acquainted with the importance which Her Majesty's Government attach to the early organization of a force which shall be capable of fulfilling the greater part at least of the frontier duty, and shall set free a corresponding portion of the British force now engaged in that service. The task of providing for the pacification of the Soudan is, unfortunately, for the moment withdrawn from the sphere of your action. When the Convention was signed there seemed a reasonable hope that peace would last long enough to render possible some arrangement with the more influential tribes in the Soudan; the recollection, however, of our recent miscarriage in that country is sufficiently fresh to prevent the tribes from renouncing the hope of a successful attack on Egypt itself, and it now appears doubtful whether they will consider the possibility of peace until they have been satisfied by experience that no further impression is to be made upon the English power in Egypt.

This state of things unhappily tends to perpetuate the second source of embarrassment—the precarious condition of the finance. Egypt, under the calculations that have been made, is barely solvent, even when no extraordinary demand is made upon the Exchequer; and anything like warlike operations raises the expenditure at once above the level of the revenue. Circumstances are not favourable for the application of any remedy you can devise to this source of weakness, but it is none the less desirable that you should examine it thoroughly, and that you should report, as fully as circumstances will allow, upon any measures of economy which on investigation may appear to you practicable for the purpose of reducing the high level of expenditure which prevents a secure financial equilibrium. This question has been the subject of much previous investigation, which will guide your inquiries and considerably abridge your labour. The very fact that they have been so often examined discourages the hope that a fresh investigation will disclose the possibility of complete or immediate relief. It is probable that the finances of Egypt can be brought into a satisfactory condition by the lapse of time, if only an interval can be secured during which no hindrance shall be offered to its growing prosperity and no additional burden shall be imposed upon its resources. The difficulty of providing an adequate force for the defence of the frontier is intimately connected with finance, and it may be hoped that, in proportion as the resources of the country increase, the provision of funds for a sufficient garrison will cease to offer any difficulties.

There is, however, a third impediment to the progress of the country to which less attention has been directed, namely, its peculiar international condition. In many questions of internal administration in regard to which other countries have only to consult the interest of their own inhabitants, Egypt is bound by stipulations conceived in the interest of foreign nations. The Egyptian Government is not free to tax all who inhabit its country alike; its laws do not apply to all the residents within its borders; the power of enforcing order or repressing sedition is limited by diplomatic engagements; the expenditure of its revenue is subjected to binding rules, administered by a foreign body in the interest of foreign creditors; and some of the most important branches of its Administration are placed, again in the interest of foreign creditors, under a special system of management which is fatal to their efficiency. It is not to be supposed that you and your colleagues will be able to suggest any means by which these evils can at once be remedied. Foreign countries have an interest in them, and therefore they cannot be removed without the consent of those for whose benefit they were devised. It may be that a very long time must elapse before that consent can be obtained; but, at all events, it would be valuable as a guide to the diplomatic action of Her Majesty's Government in future years if the extent of the evil in all its details be ascertained and laid bare. The reforms towards

which those must work who desire to give Egypt a fair start, and an equal chance of political and material development, should be intelligibly placed before the world, even though no hope should exist of any immediate removal of the evils which are brought to light.

Your attention will naturally be drawn to the peculiar working of the special administrative and financial engagements to which Egypt has submitted herself, as well as to the prejudicial action of the Capitulations to which Egypt, in common with other portions of the Turkish Empire, is subject; and you will examine whether there are any measures of alleviation in respect to these grievous burdens which would have any prospect of finding acceptance with the Powers.

Two other special arrangements quite peculiar to Egypt should also engage your attention. Part of the security for the multifarious obligations of that country consists in its railways and the Crown lands. In order to insure such a system of management as should reserve the surplus of these services for the creditors, they have been placed under an International Administration, consisting in each case of English, French, and Egyptian officials. The reports which have reached Her Majesty's Government represent the worst consequences as flowing from this divided responsibility.

The want of any unity of management, combined with the extreme cumbrousness which belongs to the combined action of Administrators of different nationality, introduces serious confusion into the conduct of affairs, and has materially diminished both the profitableness and the efficiency of the management.

The Crown lands show a recurring deficit. The management of the railways is less unprofitable, but the account given of their condition and of the service which they furnish is very far from satisfactory. If both these Departments were as efficient as they should be, the financial condition of the country would be less precarious. I strongly recommend this subject to the investigation of yourself and your colleagues.

In conclusion, I would observe that your function is to examine and report upon all the matters committed to your charge fully as if Her Majesty's Government had complete and immediate power to set them right.

It is important that we should know the full extent of the evils with which we have to contend, and the nature of the remedies which appear the most suitable to those who have the best opportunities of observation. The difficulties by which any remedy in any particular instance may be beset may be arduous in their character, and of a kind with which it does not fall within your sphere of action to deal; but the existence of diplomatic obstacles to reform should constitute no ground for restraining the free and full expression of your judgment.

I am, &c.

(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 389.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received December 23, 1 P.M.)

(No. 154.)
(Telegraphic.)

Cairo, December 23, 1885, 12·30 P.M.

NEWS has arrived here, not officially, that Moukhtar Pasha has started for Egypt.

If so, he will arrive about Saturday, so that any instructions sent by your Lordship on Friday would arrive in time for all practical purposes.

No. 390.

Sir W. White to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received December 23, 1 P.M.)

(No. 243.)
(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, December 23, 1885, 12·30 P.M.

HIS Excellency Ghazi Ahmet Moukhtar Pasha sailed at 9 last night for Egypt in Imperial yacht "Izzedin," and will be due at Alexandria in about four days.

(Sent to Wolff.)

No. 391.

Sir W. White to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received December 23, 1 P.M.)

(No. 244.)
(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, December 23, 1885, 12·35 P.M.*

YOUR telegram No. 252 of 21st.

In consequence of High Commissioner's departure, as reported in my previous telegram, I have not acted on above instructions.

(Sent to Sir H. D. Wolff.)

No. 392.

Sir W. White to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received December 24.)

(No. 14. Treaty.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, December 15, 1885.*

I HAVE the honour to state, in reply to your Lordship's despatch No. 15, Treaty, of the 8th December, that no Protocol or Declaration was signed extending the period fixed upon for the exchange of the ratifications of the Egyptian Convention signed by his Excellency Saïd Pasha and Sir Henry Drummond Wolff.

It may not be out of place if I now explain to your Lordship that the delay in exchanging the ratifications is due entirely to the dilatoriness and supineness of the Sublime Porte, which, after pressing me very strongly to obtain Her Majesty the Queen's ratification with as little delay as possible, allowed more than a fortnight to elapse after I had announced that I was in a position to carry out the exchange before being ready on its side to meet me.

As a matter of fact, the delay would have been considerably increased had I not considered it my duty to call the attention of the Minister for Foreign Affairs in strong terms to this unnecessary and uncourteous proscrastination.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. A. WHITE.

No. 393.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir H. Drummond Wolff.

(No. 77.)
(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, December 26, 1885, 11·30 P.M.*

A DESPATCH has been drafted, but has been delayed by Christmas, conveying some further instructions. Its purport is to renew the injunction to organize frontier defences, and to reduce expenditure where possible, but drawing your attention more especially to the various international engagements which fetter Egypt in the management of her internal affairs, and especially of her finances, including Capitulations, Law of Liquidation, International Commissions, and so forth. Our object is to obtain from you a Report depicting unsparinglyall the evils which flow from these international fetters. No remedy is possible at once, but if your Report when published draws public attention to these evils, English diplomacy will have something to work upon later on.

No. 394.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received December 27, 6 P.M.)

(No. 158.)
(Telegraphic.) *Cairo, December 27, 1885, 4·10 P.M.*

MOUKHTAR PASHA has arrived. I met him at the station and drove to his house afterwards.

No. 395.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received December 28.)

(No. 120.)
My Lord, *Cairo, December 21, 1885.*

YESTERDAY I telegraphed to your Lordship the purport of the public telegrams which have announced that Moukhtar Pasha's departure is postponed and that the Convention is considered at Constantinople a dead letter in consequence of the resumption of hostilities in the Soudan.

There seems a certain plausibility in this rumour, as Article II of the Convention engages the Sultan and the Khedive to negotiate for the tranquillization of the Soudan by pacific means, which the state of belligerency renders for the present out of the question.

I therefore ventured to suggest to your Lordship that a communication should be made to the Porte to the effect that, in the absence of the Turkish High Commissioner, we should ourselves undertake the preparation and execution of the necessary reforms. Thus the Sultan will either expedite the dispatch of his Representative, or will practically acquiesce in the delegation of these duties to Her Majesty's Government.

There are some reforms which should be commenced at once, notably those concerning the army and gendarmerie, in which considerable economies can, I think, be made.

In either case, I do not look on the delay in the dispatch of the Turkish High Commissioner as a great misfortune. Article VI of the Convention admits our indefinite occupation of the country, while the other Articles recognize the necessity of reforms.

If these reforms can be carried out by ourselves without any Turkish intervention, our so doing would be clearly an advantage. Practically the Egyptian army and gendarmerie are entirely under the control of Egyptian officers, and by pressing forward the reorganisation on the present lines we shall gain rather than lose by the absence of Ottoman co-operation.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. DRUMMOND WOLFF.

No. 396.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received December 28, 3·15 P.M.)

(No. 159.)
(Telegraphic.) *Cairo, December 28, 1885, 2·40 P.M.*

MOUKHTAR PASHA called on me to-day, and we discussed generally the principal topics likely to occupy us.

He begged me defer any further conversation on business for a few days till he could study the situation of affairs.

No. 397.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received December 29, 1·5 P.M.)

(No. 161. Secret and Confidential.)
(Telegraphic.) *Cairo, December 29, 1885, 12·20 P.M.*

INTRIGUES have already begun. The Turkish Pashas, most of them in the interest of Ismaïl, are promoting the presentation of Petitions to Moukhtar Pasha for the evacuation of the country. I am also told from a good source that the latter proposes to undertake duties of Minister of War. As by Article III of the Convention nothing can be done except with the three [group omitted; ? Commissioners], I shall, with your Lordship's sanction, at once negative this course if proposed.

I do not fear any of the intrigues, as the interests here are so varied that counter-pressure is always available.

The Khedive is somewhat apprehensive that Moukhtar has some idea of being made Governor-General of Egypt.

Printed for the use of the Foreign Office. May 1886.

CONFIDENTIAL.

(5261.)

PART I.

CORRESPONDENCE

RESPECTING

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF'S MISSION.

1885.